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Consensus on the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD):

Media Coverage on the Reporter (Amharic) and Addis Zemen

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This is to certify that the thesis prepared by Dessalew Tilahun Mengistu entitled: Consensus on the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD): Media Coverage on the Reporter (Amharic) and Addis Zemen and submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the Degree of Master of Arts in Journalism and Communication complies with the regulations of the university and meets the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to examine the media coverage and roles of Ethiopian print media in achieving consensus regards with the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam building. The study was situated within Agenda setting and consensus Theory of Ideology.

In order to address the research questions posed, a qualitative methodological approach was employed. In order to augment the textual data, in-depth interviews were conducted with producers of News, Articles, Editorials, and Especial Editions stories of Both Print media, media and communication experts and scholars, Political science and International Relation scholars and Government Officials. Textual analysis was conducted on Four year of twelve (12) months published stories in the two print media.

Focusing on the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD) is very important in the bringing economic development and eradicating poverty in Ethiopia From this point of view to examining the media coverage of GERD and the roles of print media in creating consensus towards GERD among the society is significance.

The finding shows that both print media the Amharic Reporter (privately owned) and Addis Zemen (Government owned) media have less contribution by giving continuity media coverage and in creating consensus due to internal and external factors.

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ACRONYMS/ABBREVIATIONS

AAU	Addis Ababa University
ENA	Ethiopian News Agency
EPA	Ethiopian Press Agency
GERD	Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam
GTP	Growth and Transformation Plan
NICMCR	The Nordic Information Center for Media and Communication Research.
NBC	Nile Basin Commission
NBI	Nile Basin Initiative
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization

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CHAPTER-ONE

1. Introduction

We live in a media. Media surround us, permeating our every working movement. The product of the interaction between media sources, content and audience is called media and the media audience is the group of people who can potentially receive media content. (Birch, 2001:86).

According to McQuail (2000:145), media is the key instrument in enhancing of public sphere “through publishing true and reliable information on public matters; assisting in expression of diverse voices in society; facilitating the participation of citizens in social and political life etc.

This implies that the media are powerful guardians of proper political, economical and social behavior because audience tends to trust the press who should inform them about government wrongdoing and providing proper suggestions. All of the mass media are politically importance because of their potential to reach large group of audiences. However, the influence of each media varies depending on their characteristics, ease of access and the quantity of the audience reached (McQuail, 2000:146),

The media hold a lot of potential and promise to actualize in the society. They could carry mass mobilization messages for national transformation (Mody, 1990:23). In democratic politics, the mass media play significant part both in enabling the government to govern fairly and the opposition to form in order to check and balance. (Davision, et al. 1976: 185)

Creating consensus in different issue among the given society is one role’s of media. As McQuail (2000:46) stated that media are supposed to play important role in addressing almost every aspect of social issues with regard to politics, culture and economic significances.

With regards to this consensus has a vital role to sustain a given development. As Ethiopia is a developing country creating consensus in different issue among the society is essential.

As different literature pointed out the best way to determine consensus is to actually read and understand each media’s arguments, even if they are divided on the surface.

A consensus can be found by looking for common ground and synthesizing the best solution that the group or the society can achieve at that time.

Through my observation and reading the Amharic reporter and Addis Zemen newspapers give media coverage to development issues to build consensus.

So in my thesis I am trying to examine the positive and negative side of both newspapers' media coverage with regards to creating consensus in Great Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD) building among the society.

2. Statement of the problem

Consensus has a vital role for development of a given country. Media also has played a major role for creating consensus in a given country among a society.

My research focus, the GERD, formerly known as the Millennium Dam is a huge project and one of the symbols of Ethiopian development. The project will be one means of to eradicate poverty and sustain the country's development.

The GERD is a gravity dam on the Blue Nile River in Ethiopia currently under construction. It is in the Benishangul-Gumuz Region of Ethiopia, about 15 km (9 mi) east of the border with Sudan. At 6,450 MW, the dam will be the largest hydroelectric power plant in Africa when completed, as well as the 7th largest in the world (Mehari Beyene, 2011)

As he added a major benefit of the dam will be hydropower production. The electricity to be produced by the hydropower plant is to be sold in Ethiopia and to neighboring countries including Sudan and possibly Egypt.

To fruitful this large hydroelectric power plant, the print media must be create consensus by giving media coverage among the society about the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD) project.

To create consensus in GRED, the Ethiopian print media including Addis Zemene and Amharic reporter must give media coverage continuously by setting an agenda but in my observation this is a huge gap in those media.

As far as my knowledge concerned there is no research conducted in the given topic, so I am inspired to conduct research in this specific area.

In my thesis I am trying to use two print media, Addis Zemen and Amharic Reporter. Addis Zemen is government owned and Amharic Reporter newspaper is privately owned print media.

The above selected media have played their important role for Ethiopian development by reporting different issue. In their reporting both positive and negative side has been shown. In this research I am trying to examine the role of those media in achieving consensus regards with the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam building (GERD).

3. General Objective

The general objective of this research is to examine the media coverage and roles of Ethiopian print media in achieving consensus regards with the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam building (GERD).

3.1. Specific Objectives

The specific objectives of this research are:-

- To evaluate the media coverage of Amharic Reporter and Addis Zemene to the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam building.
- To identifying reasons of the Ethiopian print media behind those media coverage.
- To see the media coverage critically how they important in creating consensus towards Grand Ethiopian Renaissance dam building.
- To assess the extent of both Amharic Reporter and Addis Zemen react towards Egyptian media and face book negative information with regards to Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam building.

- To identify the challenges of Amharic Reporter and Addis Zemen in their GERD media coverage.

4. **Research question(s)**

- To what extent the media give coverage to Ethiopian great Renaissance dam building?
- What are the reasons for Ethiopian print media to give media coverage on Grand Ethiopian Renaissance dam building in achieving social consensus?
- How much important the roles of Addis Zeme and Amharic Reporter newspapers in the creation of consensus towards Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam building?
- In what extent both Amharic Reporter and Addis Zemen react towards Egyptian media and face book negative information with regards to Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam building?
- What are the challenges of Amharic Reporter and Addis Zemen in their GERD media coverage?

5. **Significance of the study**

As I am pointed out in the above creating consensus has a vital role for countries development. In the bringing economic development and eradicating poverty, in the countries focusing on the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD) is very significant.

The newspapers as loyal to the public interest are supposed to show commitment in providing reliable and balanced information regarding the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD) so as to support and defend national benefits. This research will be intent to examine how both newspapers are treating their stories about the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD with special reference to issues emphasized.

This research, is therefore, expected to contribute its part by identifying the existing facts, problems and possible recommendations for further application by government and media institutions. It might also be helpful as a reference material for those who want to conduct

further research on the role of media in achieving consensus among the society as well as on issues related to the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD).

6. Scope of the study

The scope of this study is confined to Amharic reporter and Addis Zemen news, articles, Editorials, interviews and especial edition stories related to Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam building.

The study only assessed the media coverage of both print media and its roles in achieving consensus regards to the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD).

This study depends on content analysis and in-depth interview.

6. Limitation of the study

Due to time and resource constraints and lack of researchers enough experience in research, the research area is limited to only Amharic Reporter and Addis Zemen. Though there are other media (both print and broadcast) producing stories related to Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD). As far as my knowledge is concerned there is no research conducted in my thesis topic so, getting the necessary literature review material is difficult. With regards to data collection technique. Particularly in news papers content analysis section the three month publishing material will not found in well organized way. Both selected newspaper publishing time is not similar, the Amharic Reporter newspaper publishing two day in a week and the Addis Zemen news paper published daily so, balancing the selected material to do content analysis is difficult. In in-depth interview section conducting interview with 12 interviewees is time taken and the willingness of interviewee will be less. Those listed in the above are the limitation of this research.

CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF RELATED LITREATURE

INTRODUCTION

This chapter focuses on review of some literatures. It begins with discussion of studies that deal with consensus, roles of media, and the relation between media, society and development. In particular, it focuses on the Blue Nile and the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD). The review is followed by an examination of theoretical framework.

2.1. Consensus

2.1.1. Conceptual Discourse

Consensus is as “an opinion or position reached by a group as a whole” as defined in the American Heritage Dictionary. According to the [Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary & Thesaurus](#), consensus means “a [generally accepted opinion](#) or [decision](#) among a group of [people](#).”

Business dictionary defines consensus as “middle ground in decision making, between total assent and total disagreement. Consensus depends on participants having shared values and goals, and on having broad agreement on specific issues and overall directions. Consensus implies that everyone accepts and supports the decision, and understands the reasons for making it.”

In view of the above definitions, consensus has two meanings. One is a general agreement among the members of a given group or community. The other is as a theory and practice of getting such agreements. Jorge and Marc (2017:193) explained that consensus is an opinion or position reached by a group of individuals acting as a whole. It is also considered general agreement. Consensus is a function of shared group feelings towards an issue

According to Jorge and Marc (2017:194) human beings do not live in isolation. They have to take many decisions collectively. Examples include the election of firm representatives like the decision where to build a new school; and the task of how to share natural resources. The satisfaction of a single individual usually depends equally on the

performance of the group. as a consequence, a high individual satisfaction, it is important that collective decisions are taken with consensus.

Social order and unity require a level of agreement (consensus) between individuals. For a society to avoid splitting apart, its members need to agree on certain basic issues. They need to agree that they are all members of the same society. At the very least they need to agree to cooperate enough for the society to function properly. Note that by consensus here we do not mean complete conformity. It does not necessarily mean that every individual agrees on every issue (Green, et al. 2007:402).

Green, et al. (2007:407) added that in large social groups, a combination of peer interaction and enforcement is needed to produce consensus. Social consensus is brittle in the face of global influences such as mass media, with the peer network at first impeding the spread of alternative views, then accelerating them once a critical point is passed.

MacKinnon (2013:18) explained that Consensus can work in all types of settings – small groups, local communities, businesses, even whole nations and territories. In consensus no decision is made against the will of an individual or minority. This means that the whole group or society has to work hard at finding solutions that address everyone's concerns rather than ignoring or overruling minority opinions.

Most scholars argue that consensus can be applied in consensus decision making. With regards to MacKinnon (2013:13) Consensus decision making is based on the idea that people should have full control over their lives and that power should be shared by all rather than concentrated in the hands of a few. It implies wide ranging liberty including the freedom to decide on one's own course in life and the right to play an equal role in forging a common future. This means finding ways to balance the needs and desires of every individual with those of the closer community and the wider world.

Additionally, MacKinnon (2013:23) points out that Consensus decision making builds on respect, trust, cooperation and mutual aid to achieve agreeable solutions for everyone concerned. It is about how to work with each other rather than for or against each other, something that requires openness and trust. Consensus is looking for 'win-win' solutions

that are acceptable to all with the direct benefit that everyone agrees. The final decision of such agreement would result in a greater commitment to actually turning it into reality.

Consensus in mass democracies, therefore, is not much agreement on all issues or even more agreement on all issues or even on the most essential substantive issues among all the members of society. It is rather the established habit of intercommunication of the discussion, debate, negotiation and compromise, and the toleration of heresies, or even of indifference, up to the point of "clear and present danger" which threatens the life of the society itself. Rather than resting upon unanimity, it rests upon a sense of group identification and participation in the life of society (Wirth, 1948:9-10).

Consensus is supported and maintained not merely by the ties of interdependence and by a common cultural base. By a set of institutions embodying the settled traditions of the people, and the norms and standards that they imply and impose, not merely by the living together and dealing with one another. It is also not least important, by the continuing currents of mass communication, which in turn rest for their meaningfulness and effectiveness upon the pre-existence of some sort of a society, which hold that society together and mobilize it for continuous connected action(Wirth, 1948:10).

2.1.2. Benefits of consensus

Consensus has its own benefits. According to MacKinnon (2013:32) the benefits of consensus can be classified in to five categories:

2.1.2.1. **Sharing power:** Consensus enables us to take collective control over the decisions that affect us. Consensus means working with each other rather than for or against each other.

2.1.2.2. **Building communities:** Consensus decisions aim to meet everyone's most important needs and find a balance between what different people want. This in turn means getting to know each other as people and building open and respectful relationships that are the building blocks of genuine community.

2.1.2.3. **Making better decisions:** Consensus involves looking for 'win-win' solutions that are acceptable to all.

- 2.1.2.4. **Getting things done:** When everyone agrees with a decision they are much more likely to implement it.
- 2.1.2.5. **Protecting minority needs and opinions:** In consensus, anyone can 'block' a proposal - and prevent it from going ahead - by not giving her/his consent. This option should never be used lightly because it takes away the freedom of others to do what they want.

2.1.3. Conditions for consensus

According to Seeds for change, Conditions for consensus are necessary as the state of something with regard to its appearance, quality or working order. And the following are conditions for consensus.

- 2.1.3.1. **Common Goal:** Everyone in the group or societies needs to share a clear common goal and willingness to work together towards attaining it.
- 2.1.3.2. **Commitment to reaching consensus:** Everyone needs to be willing to really give it a go. This means being deeply honest about what it is you want or don't want, and properly listening to what others have to say. Everyone must be willing to shift their positions to be open to alternative solutions and be able to reassess their needs.
- 2.1.3.3. **Trust and openness:** We need to be able to trust that everyone shares our commitment to consensus and that everyone respects our opinions and equal rights.
- 2.1.3.4. **Sufficient time:** Taking time is essential to make a good decision and for learning to work by consensus.
- 2.1.3.5. **Clear Process:** It is essential to have a clear process for making decisions and to make sure that everyone has a shared understanding of how it works.
- 2.1.3.6. **Active participation:** In consensus we all need to actively participate.

2.1.4. Building consensus

With regards to Seeds for change, Consensus; Consensus building is a collaborative approach in which the main aim is to reach a result that benefits all of the participating groups or societies. People with different views of the issues at hand work interactively towards agreeing a sensible solution or a way forward.

To reach consensus is to give permission to go along with the total group or the given societies. The implication of consensus is that there is general agreement that has been negotiated by the individuals involved. Listening, trust, sharing, and respect are values inherent in the process.

According to MacKinnon (2013:33) "In consensus building, people who will be affected by decision work together to develop a solution that meets as many of their individual and collective interests as possible. This May even require a group to consider the interests of stakeholder who cannot be physically present in the room such as future generation"

The Media and its Roles

2.1.5. What is media?

As we live in this globalized world, defining media is not easy because media communications are constantly changing with the development of new forms and technologies. O'Shaughnessy (1999), defined media as " things that come in the middle of or mediate communication (2). This means that media are the means through which message senders can communicate with message receivers or audiences.

Media are the vehicles or channels which are used to convey information, entertainment, news, education or promotional messages. Media includes every broadcasting and narrowcasting medium such as television, radio, newspapers, billboards, mails, telephone, fax, internet etc (Khalid, et al. 2014:56).

Today we live in an information society where our economic life depends primary on the production and consumption of information. "The evolution of media in the information

society can be marked by points at which various media channels made the transitions to digital communication” (Straubhaar, Larose and Davenport, 2010:16).

The media are means. They can be used to repress or emancipate. Media message are influenced by the interest of those who own and/or control the channels. Mody (1990) described media as “the media are the site where ideologies are produced and reproduced. Whether the state controls the media directly through ownership or indirectly through regulation and advertising support, the fact is that media channels are educational and cultural arms of the state”(31-32).

The media can provide knowledge about people and places that audiences cannot see or visit. The media can explain abstract principles by illustrating them in visual, concrete terms. The media can give prestige and status to people to feature them. The media can focus attention on issues that audiences should think about which the media could set the agenda. How audiences interpret media message and what actions they take depends on them. The effects of message are the audience’s knowledge and attitudes (Mody, 1990:33).

The media show us what the words are like: they make sense of the world for us. The media-press, radio, television, cinema and so on-have become the place through which we receive most of our information (and entertainment) about the world so they are the primary source for how we see the world. In their representations, the media give us explanations, way of understanding the world we live in-they take on an interpretative role. In so doing, they teach us how to understand the world, other people and ourselves, how to ‘make sense’ of the information about the world that we receive (Mody, 1990:33).

The media play a crucial role in almost all aspects of daily life. Their influence, however, is not limited to what we know. Referring to Croteau (2012:16), the sociological significance of media extends beyond the content of media messages. Media also affect how we learn about our world and interact with one another. That is, media are bound up with the process of social relations. This impact is most obvious when we look at the ways in which the mass media literally mediate our relationships with various social institutions.

The media plays a very significant role in our society today. It is all around us. From the shows we watch on TV, the music we listen to on the radio, the books, magazines, and newspapers we read each day. Without the media, people in societies would be isolated not only from the rest of the world, but from governments, law-makers, and neighboring towns and cities (Croteau, 2012:18).

The media has the capacity to hold governments accountable forcing them to explain their actions and decisions all of which affect the people they represent. In a democratic society, people should know all their options if they are to govern themselves and the media are a vehicle for the dissemination of such information.

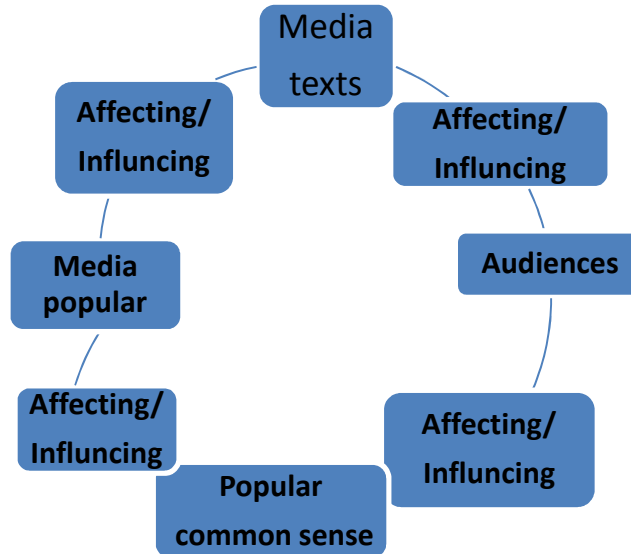
One of the most powerful strengths the media have in any society is the ability to effect change both on a social and governmental level.

According to Davision, Boylan and T.C.YU (1976:02), "Business organizations, government agencies, educational institutions, even social groups also make use of information from mass communications and rely on the media to carry their messages to a wider public.

Our daily habits and lives have changed radically through the increase of the media communication systems. The development of the media has made our lives quicker more sedentary; domestic telephone and internet communication allows us to contact each other instantly. We can deal with problems and communication feeling across distances in a movement (Davision, Boylan and T.C.YU, 1976:02).

The media can inspire and develop us actively encouraging us to do new things in our lives. The media are truthful and informative, and they make a major contribution to democracy and social accountability offering us a window on the world. The media give space to the voice of different social groups and cultures. The media are agents for social change.

The media are just one of the ways by which society make sense of the world. The media are just one arena in which those views like morality, values, cultures etc. are presented and popularized. The media generally act to reinforce values that are part of the whole society. (O'Shaughnessy, 1999:19)



(O'Shaughnessy, 1999:30)

From this chart we can understand the power of media in creating common sense. The media text has power to influencing the audience in positive and negative side. The influencing audience show their reaction in supporting or opposing of the given agenda or issue.

As the researcher argued the functioning of the economic system depends in part upon the media. The media rank with the educational system as a prime means by which society transmits its culture and values from one generation to another. (Davision, et al., 1976:1-3)

According to Mody (1990:101) all media messages are products of particular national economic, political, cultural and geographical forces. Thus one can expect the effects of media message in different countries to be specific to their particular production environments that determine what can be said and how. As the politics and economic situations of societies change their media uses and their effects on each other change.

According to O'Shaughnessy (1999:2) the followings are the Media characteristics:

The media are human communication systems, the media use process of industrialized technology for producing messages, The media generally aim to reach large audiences and hence have sometimes been referred to as 'mass media' operating through 'mass production;' their success is often built on popularity, the media usually aim to allow communication across distance (and/or time/ between people or to allow communication in which the sender does not need to be present as the communication is both recorded and then transmitted, the media are called 'media' because they are literally in the middle; they are the mechanisms that stand between the sender and the receiver of messages and the Media development has been affected by commercial interests that recognize the media are potentially highly profitable industries.

Moreover, O'Shaughnessy (1999:19) pointed out the media are owned, controlled and created by certain groups who make sense of society on behalf of others. Those people who own, control and create the media are media producers. They are not a totally separate social group since they are also part of the audience and society as a whole.

According to Davision et al. (1976:45), the structure of a media system is dictated based on the following factors: Political systems, ideologies or styles (democratic vs. authoritarians; western vs. eastern; capitalist vs. communist; closed vs. open societies), types and degrees of control of media (state-operated, public corporation, public interest partnership or private enterprise), modernization (traditional, transitional and modern), development (developed and developing or underdeveloped or LDC-less developed countries), finance (public or private, advertising practices, license fees, taxes, government subsidies), geography (European, American, Canadian, Asian, African, Latin American), types of programming (educational, cultural, commercial, political, entertainment); and Types of audience -elite vs. mass; high-brow, middle-brow, low-brow.

O'Shaughnessy (1999:12) explained that "Ownership of the media, and political power impact on media production. The main argument put forward is that the media will serve the interests of whoever owns and controls them".

Most researchers argue that decisions about the day-to-day content of the media are made by reporters and editors because they are the ones who usually determine which items will be admitted to the columns of newspapers or magazine or will be aired by a broadcasting station. They are sometimes referred to as gatekeepers.

The decision- making process in media often involves evaluation of the balance between an individual's right to privacy and the public's right and need to know. (Hausman, 1994:3)

According to scholars, print media served as the major means of communication reaching a wider audience for several centuries. Major forms of print media are: a) Newspapers b) Magazines and periodicals c) Books. (Clifford Christians et al. n.d:37)

As a mass media, newspapers influence people in many significant ways. Capability to be used for future reference make newspapers favorite medium of the people. Diversity of content is another feature of this medium. It can carry a rich mix of news, features, articles, columns, cartoons, graphics, editorial, etc. Readers can select what they want from the entire content.

2.1.6. Media roles

According to scholars, the concept of role has a long history in sociological theory and research. It has helped clarify the relationship between society and individuals and the relationship between the forces of structure and agency (David, 2012:138). From this we can understand the media can become an important player in more significant events.

In the modern world, media have some more roles to play. They inform, entertain, educate, set social agenda, shape our political system, form public opinion, support public demands, reveal social realities, transmit culture, create new trends and prosper cultural values (Clifford Christians et al. n.d:34)

Clifford Christians et al. (n.d:2), suggest four roles for the media based on their relation to the dominant political-economic powers, on the one hand, and the citizens of the civil society on the other. These roles are: "Monitoring" for reporting the power, "Facilitative"

for serving civil society, “Radical” for questioning the political system; and “Collaborative” for serving the state and other power institutions.

According to Khalid, et al. (2014:57) the functions or roles of media are the following: Media provide news and information required by the people, Media can educate the public, and media helps a democracy function effectively. They inform the public about government policies and programs and how these programs can be useful to them. This helps the people voice their feelings and informs the government to make necessary changes in their policies or programs, Media can entertain people, and media can act as an agent of change in development, media has brought people of the world closer to each other, Media promote trade and industry through advertisements, media can help the political and democratic processes of a country and media can bring in positive social changes.

Media have a responsible role to play in fostering democracy, plurality and communal harmony in the provision of Information and education, socialization, entertainment, political awareness, cultural transmission; and in acting as a catalyst to development (Khalid, et al. 2014:58)

Some social scientists have maintained that the media tend to preserve the status quo by reinforcing existing values; increasing the power of those who already have power; and focusing attention on subject of interest to the elite. Others have seen media as promoting social change through their capacity to help new interest groups and political movements to form, to acquaint people with ideas and life styles other than their own, and to focus attention on grievances and injustices (Davision, et al. 1976:192).

Even more research threats the media as a dominant force that influences and shapes individuals and societies, sometimes on their own. In this case senders as well as receivers may be influenced or constrained by them. In fact this happens more often as a tool of rapacious owners or their confidantes in societal power elite (Joel, 1925:132).

Society may be an expression of the patterns of beliefs and behavior of individuals but it is a distillation of those patterns that, once expressed, can exist independently of them.

Hence, any of four contingencies between individual's effects and social consequences are possible.

- Changes in individuals may have no impact at the social level.
- Changes in individuals are felt as social change.
- Changes at the societal may stimulate individuals' changes.
- Changes at the societal level may not involve individuals.(Joel, 1925:151)

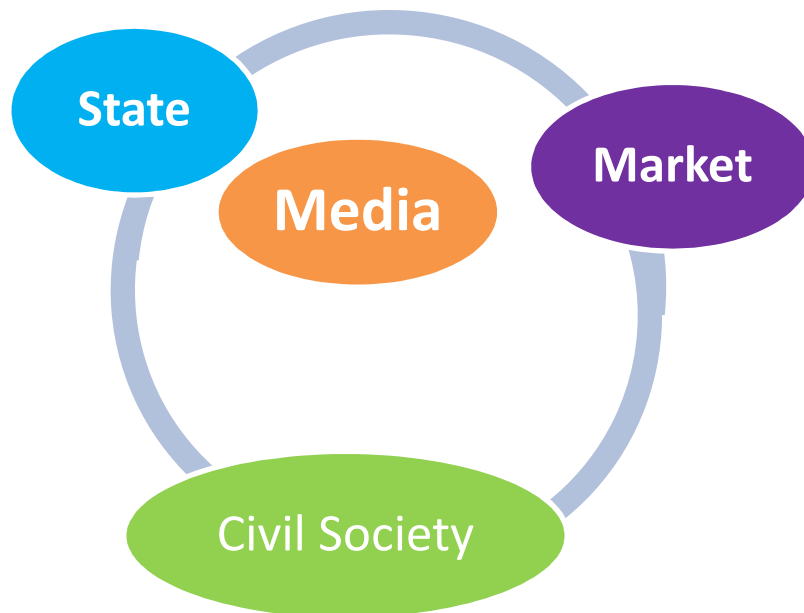
Today the media have assumed the roles of story tellers, teachers and even parents. For example text books like pass along concepts about the media to a new generation of students. But this function is not limited to media with an obvious educational or informational purpose. (Straubhaar, et al. 2010:51)

2.2. Media and Society

We live in a society that is saturated by media. The internet, print, television, radio, music and film are central parts of our daily lives. It is impossible to understand most social and political issues today without understanding how the media influence the perception and discussion of these issues. Some researcher's argue that understanding the relationship between media and society has become an important topic across many disciplines. (Croteau, 2012: P.xv)

According to Straubhaar et al. (2010, p. 4), Societies are made up of a group of people sharing common cultures. Culture is a group of pattern of thought and activity. Technological determinism explains that the media cause changes in society and culture.

According to Nordenstreng (n.d) this articulation of society can be illustrated as follows:



From this chart we can understand media, state, market and society have their own relation.

Nordenstreng (n.d), explains; the three basic levels of any consideration of society are the following; the State and related governmental institutions, the Market and related property and commercial phenomena; and The Civil Society made up of people and citizens apart from the two preceding spheres.

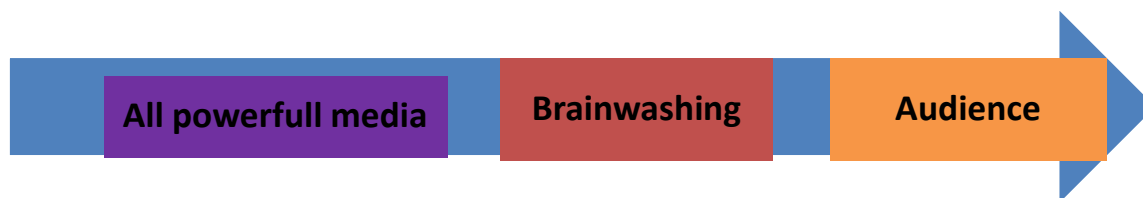
When something important happens, people learn about it through a variety of information channels. Some are informed first through television; some through the radio; some through newspapers; and some through personal conversations. Which channel brings the news to most people first depends mainly on how important the events is and at what time of day (primetime) it occurs (Davison, et al. 1976:122-123)

According to Davison, et al. (1976), four characteristics of audiences seem to be particularly important in accounting four different attitudinal effects: **First** - there are personality and educational differences. Some people are more easily persuaded than

others, some can understand more complicated arguments, and so on, **second** - people are situated in a variety of social settings. One person's friends and family may be liberal while another is in a more conservative. **Third**- the attitudes that any one person has may vary in strength. He or she may be deeply committed to a given church or political party, may be more loosely attached or may have no attitudes at all on some political and religious subjects. **Fourth**- external events may affect audience attitudes; a communication that is not very persuasive in peacetime may be quite compelling in time of war or the vice versa (74).

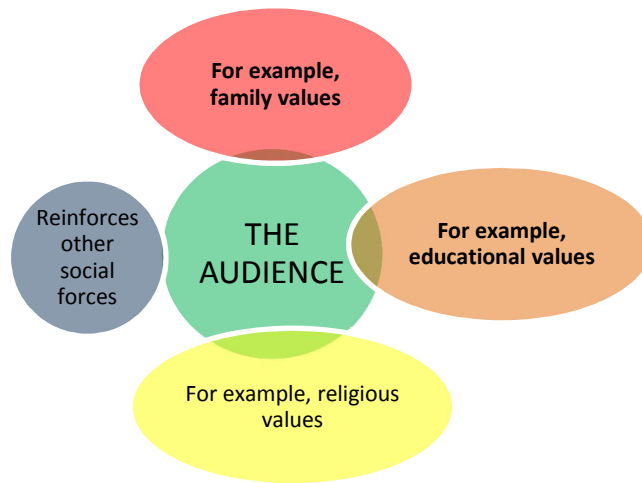
As Davison, et al. (1976:58) pointed out that audience research has understood the audience in two different ways: in terms of effects and in terms of reception. According to the above researchers earlier media analysis suggested three ways of understanding the media-audience relationship.

1. **Direct effects**-the belief that the media are capable of radically affecting people's behavior and believe to such an extent that they can be used for the purpose of political propaganda.

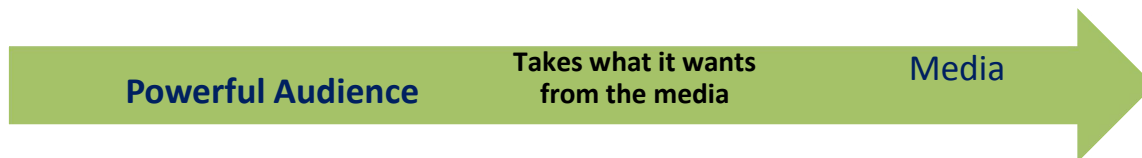


This chart shows us any kinds of media believe affecting peoples behavior and believes, for example if media set an agenda and continuously address this agenda to the specific audience the media can achieve its goal (Davison, et al, 1976:58).

2.Reinforcement: This model refines the direct - effects approach by suggesting that the media work in conjunction with other social forces influencing people when their messages coincide with ideas being produced elsewhere in society through education, the family, the churches and so on (Davison, et al, 1976:59).



3. **Uses and gratifications:** This model proposes that audiences have some freedom in their response to the media and the sense they make of them (the media): They can select what to watch and read and they do so on the basis of what suits them (Davision, et al, 1976:59).



In constructing their own individual interpretations of the media, people constantly draw on collective resource and experience that they are shaped by social factors. Although media message are impersonal and subject to multiple interpretations by audiences, the constructions of meaning does not take place in individualized isolation.



Simplified models of media and society

(Croteau, 2012:24)

The box at the bottom of the model represents the media industry by which we mean the entire organizational structure that makes up the media including all media personnel. The media industry is affected by changes in technology. Yet it is instrumental in influencing the direction and application of technology. The Media industry is the producer of the media message or product. The conventions of particular genres of media products also influence the creators of the products (Croteau, 2012:24)

Readers or audiences may be influenced by the media message they see. But they must actively interpret and construct meaning from those messages and products. The direction and development of technology is affected by how the readers or audiences choose to use it. The relation between the media industry and most members of the audience is mediated by media products, technology and other factors in the social world. The audience has always had the capacity to respond to the media industry. Society cannot function without the media and that the media exist to serve the needs of our societies and cultures.

One way in which individuals are connected to the large social world is through socialization. Socialization is the process whereby we learn and internalize the values, beliefs and norms of our culture and in so doing develop a sense of self. (Croteau, 2012:14-15)

The process of socialization continues throughout our life span though it is especially influential for children and adolescents. If socialization proceeds smoothly, we hardly notice it. The dominant values, beliefs and norms of our society become “our” values and norms. The internalization of the lessons of socialization means that our culture is taken for granted. We learn to hold “appropriate” values and beliefs. We learn to behave in socially acceptable ways.”(Croteau, 2012:15)

3.1. Media and consensus

Just as the mass media may have behavioral effects on individuals, they also have effects on social organizations and on society in general. These effects may occur because of the cumulative impact on individuals or because social organizations themselves make use of media.

As Davison, et al. (1976:183) explained that the effect of the mass media on level of information, attitudes, and attention may influence us in what we do.

This means that exposure to the media changes people's behavior or beliefs. The more we watch, read or listen to outputs of the media, the greater the effect on our behavior. However, if by media effects, we mean that the media do not generate specific changes but rather reinforce the status quo, then empirical demonstration of media effects becomes near impossible.

It is difficult to know what beliefs people might have espoused. But for the media's construction of a normative reality, and difficulty to know what role the media plays in the construction of those needs and desires. This in turn motivate viewers to engage with the media as they are rather than as they might be (Khalid, et al., 2014:58).

According to Mody (1990:29), consensus or individual change takes place without dialogue. That is the dialogue expected to take place within groups of people with homogeneous needs; between groups of people with different needs; and between the public and planners (e.g. Government agencies, private voluntary organizations, are calming to meet their needs. This implies horizontal communication within and between groups in which people are organized.

When messages are designed to support national transformation in behaviors and attitudes, then the desired sequence of audience outputs becomes longer and more complicated.

Mody (1990:111-112) pointed out sequences of twelve outputs from the audiences that are desired; Exposure to the message, Attention, Interest, Comprehension, Skills learning Attitudes change, Memorization for future use, Recall through information search and retrieval (when memorized material is needed), Decision making on the basis of retrieval, Behavior in accordance with new meanings learned, Reinforcement of behavior and Consolidation of the transformed position.

Sociologists have long been accustomed to analyze in particular one of the bases of consensus, namely, the consensus that derives from the social heritage of a people from a common culture, a common history and set of traditions, from the mores, which can make anything seem right, true, good, beautiful and possible. It is this basis of common social life as patterned by these traditions that makes it possible in the last analysis for any group to think of itself and to act as society, to regard itself as a "we" group and to counter pose this "we" experience to all that is alien. (Wirth, 1948:7)

If consensus is increasingly at the mercy of the functioning of the media as it is in a democratic world, then the control over these instruments becomes one of the principal sources of political, economic and social power. The harnessing of this power is an infinitely more complex and vital problem than any previous challenge that the human race has had to meet. (Wirth, 1948:2).

Hegemony and Ideology are very important when we discussed about the roles of media in creating consensus. According to Straubhaar (et al. 2010:43); "Hegemony is the use of media to create a consensus around certain ideas so that they come to be accepted as common sense".

Hegemony is a way of understanding how one social group maintains its power over subordinate groups. (O'Shaghnessy, 1999:188)

Ideology: Is a system of social beliefs closely organized system, values, and ideas forming the basis of a social, economic or political philosophy or program or meaningful belief systems that shapes the way a person or a group such as social class thinks, acts and understands the world (Encarta English Dictionary).

O'Shaghnessy (1999:158) stated, "Ideology is a set of social values, ideas, beliefs, feelings, representations and institutions by which people collectively make sense of the world they live in". Additionally Michael (1999:159) explained that "Ideology is also a set of deliberately formulated, coherent, rational usually political ideas that is used as a way of defining and understanding how society can be organized".

From this explanation we can understand we are having a set of values, beliefs, and feelings that guide our behavior; determine how we think, feel and act. These may change over time and we will probably be aware of changes we have gone through in our own life. The change would involve losing one ideology that we replace with another.

According to O'Shaughnessy (1999:162), there are three places to look for and find ideologies: in language, texts and representations, in material institutions and in our heads and hearts. From those ideological sites-languages, texts and representations-are the most significant for media studies concerned with ideologies.

An ideology is basically a system of meaning that helps define and explain the world and that makes values judgments about the world. Ideology, then, is not just about politics. It has a boarder and more fundamental connotation (Croteau, 2012:153).

O'Shaughnessy (1999) stated like ideology hegemony is maintained in two ways that are Coercion and Consensus. According to him in Coercion to coerce someone is to force him or her to do something through the power of the institutions of the police, the law, and the army, all of which have the capacity to force compliance and punish dissidents and in Consensus we can involve people agreeing on something. This implies that the notion of hegemony as maintained by consent is very useful in media studies. (188)

He added that the ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas; i.e. the class which is the ruling material force in society is at the same time ruling intellectual force. (176)

Additionally, Hegemony refers to the process by which the ruling classes win approval for their actions by consent rather than by coercion. This is largely achieved through social and cultural institutions such as the law, the family, the education system and the mass media (Laughy, 2007:16).

Two ways in which the media work on ideology are the media function to support the dominant ideology. They do this by making and displacing' social issues and problems. Under this condition, the media support the dominant ideology by incorporating or containing or the ideological positions. (O'Shaghnessy, 1999:180-181). Similarly, Croteau & Hoynes (2003:163) advocate that media representations are intertwined with questions of power and ideology.

3.2. Media and economic development

Economic development and media are two faces of one coin. To facilitate economic development of a given country, media have vital roles. Using media, people's attitudes and habits can be changed. With regards to Khalid, et al., (2014:57), the concept of development of a country is a matter of change when old practices and equipment are changed and new, better and more efficient means are used. Media play an important role in communicating this change. By giving the necessary information, and sometimes skills, the media can help bring about this change.

The media are also key institutional mechanism for achieving a successful policy mix that promotes economic development (J.Coyne and T.Leeson, 2004:23).

Petro's (2010:91) stated: the reason for existence of government is to provide security and enable the citizens to satisfy their basic needs and fulfilling the needs, such as employment, food, shelter, health, education, water, electricity, transport and communications, which are the main inertias for development. In order that these services may respond to the changing circumstances in very country, they should their fore be preserved 'developed and transformed.

Developments in the information society encourage cultural fragmentation. Groups and individuals customize their own information and cultural experience so that people share very few experiences in common (Straubhaar, et al., 2010: 41).

Referring to Mody (1990:88), the mass media are deployed to persuade audiences to participate in the states plans for agriculture, health and education. Implicit is the need to transfer knowledge, attitude change and modify behaviors in populations that are invisible and inaudible.

According to researcher, media production teams working on development communication with limited budgets need to think in terms of audience's segmentation on two basic dimensions: the topics of the message, e.g., 'stop smoking' and exposure to the medium media producers in some settings may have to think in terms of a single message that is designed to reach several segments of audience simultaneously by having characters and perspectives from each of the different segments built into a single program (Mody,1990:163).

The media can be powerful factor in the development of attitudes and behavior on topics where little is known and no strong attitudes or behavior patterns exist. However, changing existing attitudes for national transformation is more difficult (Mody, 1990:102).

Different researchers pointed out media development by itself is one indicator of a given country development. According to Mody (1990) a UNESCO study found out those indicators of national development such as per capita income, literacy, urbanization and industrialization were correlated with indicators of a well-developed media infrastructure. The development of the mass media was clearly related to other developments in the country (22).

When we talk about development of a given country sustainable development is vital. Sustainable development means "development which meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (WCED, 1987:43). Sustainable development presents a long-term strategic goal rather than a short-term policy agenda. To be 'sustainable' our environmental, economic and social systems have to be able to exhibit a high degree of stability and integrity over a very long period of time.

Additionally, fundamental to understanding what sustainable development means is an appreciation of the three general perspectives on it: ecological, economic and social. Each-despite considerable variation within the perspective-involves differing conceptions of sustainable development and vastly different policy implication. (Overton and Scheyvens, 2002:3)

According to Overton and Scheyvens (2002), Participation is a key element of sustainability. Participation is a key principle for it contends that all people affected by a development activity should be involved in its conception, implementation and evaluation and share in its rewards. For development practice, participation means more than just consultation and it must involve empowerment in terms of handing over control and ownership of activities to those most involved and affected (262-263)

To sustain national development, giving focus on message which transmitted in media is essential. Mody (1990:118) argued that message designer for national development need to know three things, irrespective of the medium, topic or country where they work; what does the audience that the message is representing? What they know, what to know, and need to know? , What forms of communication are indigenous to this community? E.g. what

channels, words, images, and gestures does this community use to communicate among its own members? And Will our draft messages get and had attention, understandable and actually found useful by this audience?-time, money and accuracy are important issues in both cases.)

According to the FDRE Government Communication Affairs Office (2017:2), Ethiopia is a country with a bold vision-to be a leader in Africa and the world; an economic powerhouse; to transform the lives of its almost 100 million citizens. It is a vision of renaissance that is rebirth: to make great again. Dedicated to this vision, the government has set ambitious goals: to reach lower middle-income status by 2025 and become a high-income country within two generations by transforming in to an industrial economy and creating millions of jobs.

3.3. The Blue Nile or Abaye River

Water is the gift of life, without water no life can be sustained on earth. We need water for drinking, for cooking, for washing, for food preparation, for industry, for energy, for transport, for rituals, for fun for life. And it is not only we human who need it; all forms of life are dependent upon water for its very survival.

Water is Ethiopia's natural gift. Yacob cited in (Ethiopia, FDRE, 2002:1); Ethiopia possesses abundant water resource, having 12 major river basins, 11 freshwater lakes, 9 saline lakes, 4 crater lakes and over 12 major swamps or wetland regimes. According to him 70 percent of Ethiopia's 123 bcm of annually available water resource are found within the Ethiopian Nile basin.

These resources along the rain harvesting and the ground water exploitation could be utilized for numerous productive activities, enabling Ethiopia to attain economic progress, food security diversified agriculture, augmenting transportation and commenting its modernization drive. (Petros, 2010:63)

Water is an eternal force that has always brought together the societies along its course. However, in the backdrop of the emergence of modern states on the one hand and the coming of colonial explanation on the other, countries developed not only competitive but also contradictory interests over the control and management of the traditionally unifying water resources (Yacob, 2007:67).

The Nile valley is one of the oldest places in the world where its ancient inhabitants husbanded the water resources that engendered the valley a cradle of civilization, thereby creating ancient polities and empires. The famous pharaonic civilization of Egypt is inseparable from the great Nile waters. The ancient sudanes state of Merowe and the Aksumite Empire of ancient Ethiopia were firmly rooted in the Eastern Nile Basin (Yacob, 2007:25)

The Nile gets its name from the Greek word “Nelios”, meaning River Valley. It flows through eleven nations of central, East and North Africa, comprising: the DCR (Democratic Congo Republic), Burundi, Rwanda, Tanzania, Kenya, Uganda, Ethiopia, Eritrea, the Sudan, South Sudan and Egypt (Petros, 2010:7).

According to Yacob (2007:25), in terms of its geography, the Nile is the longest river in the world, flowing 6825 km over 35 degrees attitude from South to North. It is one of the greatest wonders of nature, with unfading romance through the civilization of antiquity.

He added, the Nile waters system consists of numerous tributaries and headwater lakes. Lake Victoria in the equatorial region and Lake Tana in north western Ethiopia are the most significant natural reservoirs in the Nile upstream. Of the four major tributaries, the Abbay(Blue Nile), Tekeze(Atbara) and Baro- Akobo(sobat) originates in the Ethiopian highlands, while the White Nile originates from the Equatorial Lakes region. The Ethiopian headwaters provide 86 percent of the total Nile river water, while the remaining 14 percent come through the White Nile system of the Equatorial Lakes area (Yacob, 2007:25).

The Blue Nile carries a much greater volume of water. Modern hydrologists estimate that more than 85 percent of the water and silt that falls in to Egypt come from the Blue Nile (Virginia, 2001:24).

Yacob (7007:69) explained that the Abbay River in Ethiopia, for instance, is belived to “the father ” of all rivers and the symbol of the nation. Ethiopia’s historic attachment to the Abbay River has been depply spiritual, and holds great reverence, sense of identity and prestige.

The Blue Nile, locally called Abbay, presumed to have different sources of origin. Gilgal Abbay, meaning little Abbay in Amharic originates from mount Gish found in an area called Sakala in North East part of Ethiopia around Lake Tana. That is referred to as single source of the Blue Nile. Even today scholars refer to Lake Tana or grossly Ethiopian Highlands as its source. (Wuhibegeze, 2012:36)

The American Heritage dictionary defines the Blue Nile as “a river rising in the highlands of central Ethiopia and flowing about thousand miles southeast and northwest to Khartoum, Sudan were it joins the White Nile with which it forms the Nile.”

The traditional Ethiopian perception of the Blue Nile (Abbay), the main tributary of the Nile, is unique and encompasses much more than just the physical body of water. It’s spiritual. Holds reverence, and a sense of prestige and identity. Songs, poems, folk stories, ritual performances and religious shrines are to the river. It is indeed personified as the great father river.

According to different researches the 1929 and 1959 treaties were the most influential treaties of the Nile. As Petros (2010) pointed out the treaty signed on the 7th may 1929 was guided by the Britain colonial influence and directives with the following important articles attached to the treaty:

1. Egypt and Sudan will utilize 48bm³ and 4bm³ of the Nile flow per year, respectively.
2. The flow of the Nile during January 20 to July would be reserved for Egypt.
3. Egypt reserves the right to monitor the Nile flow in upstream countries.

4. Egypt assumed the right to veto any construction projects related to the Nile River without the consent of upper riparian states.
5. Egypt assumed the right to veto any construction projects that would affect her interest adversely.

He emphasized that the five articles of the 1929 treaty represent an unreasonable and one-sided protocol that could act as time bomb in the future regional partnership relations (22-23).

On the other hand Petros (2010:23) explained that the most daring agreement of all is the 1959 treaty which was strategically signed between the two lower riparian states at the time when most of the upper riparian states were struggling to gain their political independence. The objective of this treaty was primarily to give Egypt a legal expedience that could allow for a preemptive political move and usurp optimum annual flow of the waters before many of the Nile states become viable states to claim equitable share of the water. It has the following components:

- The two countries agreed that the average annual Nile flow 84bm^3 .
- The annual loss due to evaporation and other factors were agreed to be about 10bm^3 . This quantity would be dedicated from the Nile Yield before the actual water share is defined to the two nations; Egypt and Sudan.
- They agree to share 18.5bm^3 and 55.5bm^3 or approximately 25% and 75% for Sudan and Egypt, respectively.
- Sudan would construct projects that would enhance the Nile flow by preventing evaporation loses in suds swamps of the White Nile located in southern Sudan. The cost of saving water in suds to be shared equally between Sudan and Egypt.
- The agreement granted Egypt the right to construct the Aswan High Dam that can store the entire annual Nile river flow.
- It granted the Sudan to construct the Rosaries Dam on the Blue Nile and to develop other irrigation and Hydroelectric power generation until it fully utilizes its share.
- A permanent Joint Technical Commission to be established to secure the technical cooperation between them.

According to him this treaty was signed and the construction of both Aswan High Dam in Egypt and Rosaries Dam in Sudan were implemented when Ethiopia was conducting an important study on the Blue Nile Basin and seeking fund for its execution. Yet, Ethiopia was forced to shelve her plan of development in the Blue Nile Basin owing to the lack of finance and other constraints (23-24)

One of the major studies Ethiopia had organized on the Blue Nile Basin was the broad-based study conducted on the basin during the Emperor Haile Selassie regime. The kingdom had made a hydrological inventory of the river basins of the country in order to consider them for their roles in national development priorities.

3.4. Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam/GERD/

Ethiopia has experienced three constitutions. All three constitutions contain provisions relating to ownership, use or management of water resources. According to Yacob (2007:11-112), the following sections will look at specific contribution of the provisions to the governance of water resources in Ethiopia:

1. The 1959 Revised constitution of Imperial Ethiopian Government, in art.130 provided that: a) the natural resources in the waters, forests, land, air, lakes, rivers and ports of the Empire are sacred trust for the benefit of present and succeeding generations of the Ethiopian people. b) The conservation of the said resources is essential for the preservation of the empire. (c)None of the said resources shall be exploited by any person-natural or juridical. (d)...watercourse, lakes and territorial waters are state domain.
2. The 1987 constitution of people's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, in art. 13(2) stipulates, thus: "...Natural resources, especially land, mineral resources and forests are the property of the state.
3. The 1995 constitution of Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, in art. 40(3) provides: the right to ownership of rural and urban lands, as well as of all other natural resources, is exclusively vested in the state and in the peoples of Ethiopia.

In spite of the fact that the three constitutions of Ethiopia represent three political regimes with three different political systems ("feudalism", "socialism" and "capitalism"), they are consistent in codifying the sustainability principle in the form of public ownership of water and regulation by the state.

He also added, Ethiopia has prioritized water resources development as a cornerstone of its overall economic Development, but has so far only achieved limited success in implementing these plans. Egypt and Sudan have developed irrigation much earlier on, in part due to their lack of rainfall, in part due to the support of the colonial administration. (Yacob, 2007:30).

Egypt, Sudan and Ethiopia have a lot in common. The three societies belong to the same greater civilization of the Nile valley.

Ethiopia, Egypt and Sudan, which are either the dominant producers or consumers of the Nile water, have an enormous opportunity to develop the Blue Nile Sub-Basin by using the common resources through collaboration and with more openness (Petros, 2010:58).

History shows the water sector was not much developed by Ethiopian during the Imperial era.

According to Petros (2010), the water resources commission was established in 1971 to spearhead the responsibilities of harnessing the nation surface and ground water resources for the development and domestic uses (96). The water resource commission works began during the Imperial era and expand during the socialist regime.

In 1958 Ethiopia embarked on the Abbay/Blue Nile basin master plan study program. The three aims of the Abbay/Blue Nile study were: 1) to compile a complete inventory of the water and other natural resources in the basin; 2) to establish a model for other basin studies in the country; and 3) to create and develop human resources capacity for development of the water sector (Yacob, 2007:153).

Different scholars explained that in the course of its twenty six years rule, however, the EPRDF regime rehabilitated the ruined infrastructures and accomplished some measurable results in agriculture and water sector with a view to eradicate poverty and accelerate development.

Petros (2010:106) explained that, the most important performances that should be remembered in the annals of Ethiopian history include EPRDF emphasis on water sector development and opening specialized institutions in the fields of higher learning. Some of the radical steps of EPRDF are noted as: 1) Replacing the command economy with market economy; 2) Enhancing popular participation in economic activities and decision-making processes by ensuring control over resources by regional authorities; 3) Performing structural adjustment of the economy; and 4) Putting the utmost emphasis on the agricultural sector.

EPRDF; now Ethiopian government has targeted water sector development by mobilizing elites, local and regional leaders and entire citizens with more articulated approach. The government has realized the urgency of making the water sector a major catalyst to boost the development perspective of agriculture, industry, and service sectors.

Some of the fundamental policy statements and principles of EPRDF on water resources management are stated as:

- Ethiopian citizens shall have access to sufficient water of acceptable quality to satisfy basic human needs. The policy gives top priority to drinking water supply over other uses.
- Water is both an economic and social good.
- Water resource development should be based on rural-centered, decentralized management and participatory approaches. This focuses on promoting decentralized management; foster the participation of user communities; and support community self-initiative in water resources management.
- Management of water resources shall ensure social equity system reliability and sustainability.(Petros, 2010:10)

According to Yacob (2007:153), the main principle of Ethiopia's water sector development strategy draws on the need for national economic development and the relevance of water resources for the country's socio-economic development. The promotion of sustainable development and management of water resources has to be linked with ongoing and planned development project.

Petros (2010), pointed out, the Ethiopian water sector strategy provides a framework that contains ways and the means of attaining the intended objectives of development. To make it more specific, the strategy strives to create a road map to the sector by:

- Improving the living standard and general socio-economic wellbeing of the Ethiopian people;
- Realizing food self-sufficiency and food security;
- Extending water supply and sanitation coverage to large segments of the society;
- Generating additional power;
- Enhancing the contribution of water resources in attaining national development priorities. Promoting the principles of integrated water resources management.
- In order to elaborate the strategy, the ministry is carefully divided into four sub sectors, which are general water resources, water supply and sanitation, irrigation and the hydro power strategy (111).

There are numerous arguments given as to why big dam are important for building the nation. Petros (2010) argued, in the case of Ethiopia, building big dams in the Blue Nile Basin has the following advantages. 1) The flood waters are wasted unless large major dams are constructed, 2) Large dams are eminently suited for carry over storages and thus impart greater reliabilities and stabilities to the system, 3) Large dams generate cheap and clean hydropower, 4) Dams provide the most effective way of food regulation and control. Large dams are most reliable during drought when small storages run out and suffer excessive evaporation loss. 5) Per unit areas stored with big dams is much less as compared to small dams. 6) Diversion and transfer of surplus water to water scare basins

can be possible only through big dams, and Employment potential is higher in large dams thought out the year. In case of small dams there is little employment potential as seasonal rains affect only small local areas (127-128).

Giving special attention to the environmental and displacement issues carefully, Ethiopia should construct large scale dam that: Increase economic and social productivity and hence increase consumption of goods and services; Irrigate 2.2 million hectare land identified in the basin in the coming 15 or more years by using the Ethiopian share of the Blue Nile; Distributing benefits to millions of inhabitants through employment in mechanized agriculture in the basin; Provide better settlement, equipped with socially, economically and technically sound services in the basin for the millions and change their lives; and Providing complex hydroelectric power for trade with the trans-boundary countries. (Petros, 2010:128)



The Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD.)

Source: (Ethiopian Great Renaissance Dam Building National Public participation office.)

In April 2011, the Ethiopian government announced its plan to construct the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD) on the Blue Nile. The Grand Ethiopian Renaissance

Dam (GERD), formerly known as the Millennium Dam and sometimes referred to as Hidase Gedib, in Amharic is a gravity dam on the Blue Nile River in Ethiopia currently under construction. It is in the Benishangul-Gumuz Region of Ethiopia about 15 km east of the border with Sudan. At 6,450 MW, the dam will be the largest hydroelectric power plant in Africa and the 7th largest in the world when completed.

The dam was originally called "Project X", and after its contract was announced it was called the Millennium Dam. On 15 April 2011, the Council of Ministers renamed it Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam. The Dam was first designed to generate 5,250 MW.

According to Yohannes (2017:28), the value and benefits of the Grand Renaissance Dam can bring to the Ethiopian people or nation would be so great. It will move the country forward and does not give way to see backward. It will improve the lives and livelihoods of the people. Therefore the Grand Renaissance Dam is the nation's pride and destiny.

3.4. Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework is the structure that can hold or support a theory of a research study, introduces and describes the theory that explains why the research problem under study exists.

As my thesis focused on examining consensus of the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD) and media coverage in case of Amharic reporter and Addis Zemen. In my thesis I use consensus theory and agenda setting theory as theoretical framework because both theories have direct relation with my research topic.

3.4.1. Consensus Theory

Different literature pointed out Consensus theory is a social theory that holds that a particular political or economic system is a fair system, and that social change should take place within the social institutions provided by it.

Previous studies of consensus determined media use by the frequency of exposure, i.e. the number of days a week in which a newspaper is read or a news program is watched. In

contrast, exposure was measured here by the level of attention given by the reader or viewer of the news to content that is understood as political (Lopez, Pablo and Esteban et al., 1998:340).

Consensus building is a tool or process often used to assist a group of varied stakeholders to reach agreement on a topic or recommendation. Since consensus means overwhelming agreement, it is important that consensus be the product of a good-faith effort to meet the most important interests of all stakeholders.

The key indicator of whether consensus has been reached is when everyone agrees they can live with the final proposal and support it; in other words efforts have been made to meet any outstanding, high priority stakeholder interests. The consensus-building processes allow a variety of people to have input into decision-making processes, rather than leaving controversial decisions up to experts.

The human mind both 'individual' and 'public' has only a limited capacity to process information (Miller 1965; Shaw and McCombs 1977). Therefore a considerable social consensus about which issues reach the agenda is necessary. (Lopez, et al. 1998:336)

As Lopez, et al., (1998) cited in Shaw and Martin (1992:136) greater consensus in the public agenda among demographic subgroups corresponds to greater exposure to the mass media.

The consensus theory serves as a sociological argument for the furtherance and preservation of the status quo.

3.4.2. Agenda Setting Theory

The term was coined by Maxwell McCombs and Donald L Shaw in 1972 in the context of election campaign where the politicians seek to convince the voters about the party's most important issues. This theory tries to describe and explain as how stories are selected. (a)Packaged and presented- a process known as Gatekeeping, (b) by resulting agenda (c) how this agenda affects what people think about the relative importance of the issues presented. This theory also "predicts" that of particular news item is presented

prominently and frequently by the press, the public will come to believe that it is important (Khalid, et al. 2014:59).

According to Shailendra (1986:23), "Agenda-setting is a rational concept that specifies a transfer of salience from agenda primers (media) to agenda adopters (consumers)." McCombs, in his paper "The Agenda-setting Role of the Mass media in the shaping of public opinion" (1991:1) describes this as follows: The power of the news media to set a nation's agenda, to focus public attention on a few public issues, is an immense and well documented influence. Not only do people acquire factual information about public affairs from the news media, readers and viewers also learn how much importance to attach to a topic on the basis of the emphasis placed on it in the news.

Agenda setting by the media can be practically shown particularly through newspapers providing a host of cues about the salience of the topics in their daily news by making it a lead story on page one, and through broadcasters like television by making it the opening (lead) story on the news cast, or by giving more time to the story, or by repeating it day after day to effectively communicate the importance of the issue or the topic at hand.

In other words, the news media can set the agenda for the public's attention by consistently raising a small group of issues around which public opinion forms. It is important to note that the notion of agenda-setting is a positive association between the media and the audience. Agenda-setting shifts the focus of attention away from immediate effects on attitudes and opinions, to longer-term effects on attitudes, opinions, and cognitions. The notion of agenda-setting relies on the transfer of issues from the media to the public (Protest and McCombs, 1991:2)

Media agenda setting effects can easily be detected particularly in the volume of coverage and tone of the message, and it can result in forming public opinion.

According to Davison, et al. (1976:81) "Agenda Setting is the label often given to the ability of the mass media to direct attention to one subject rather than others".

Davision, et al. (2010) argued, agenda-setting theory describes how media coverage affects public opinion. Merely by publishing some stories and not others, the media set the agenda-or topic of conversation-for what people probably will and won't be discussing that day (53).

Other public figures and interested groups try to set the agenda by harping on an issue in their public statements, but they succeed only if their words are picked up in the news (Joseph et al., 2010:52).

Additionally, agenda setters from government, businesses, and political interest groups try to influence what the media cover and what "spin" media give to that coverage. Within the media themselves, a variety of media professionals make decisions about what goes into and what stays out of news and entertainment media. They are gatekeepers. (Straubhaar, et al. 2010:57).

Mass media have a significant influence on the focus of public attention. In channeling the agenda towards a relative unification of opinions about the social priorities of the moment, the mass media help structure a practical approach to public issues, which are both ranked according to their relative importance and limited in number. This situation allows the community to concentrate its efforts and to focus governmental and social action (Lopez, et al. 1998: 335).

According to Khalid, et al. (2014:60), Mass media do agenda setting by highlighting some issues and avoiding the others. There are instances in which business tycoons and political leaders misuse this agenda setting ability of media to keep their vested interests.

The theory of the mass media agenda setting offers a useful perspective — whose implications have still not been completely developed—for examining the influence of news on the public mind (Lopez et al., 1998:347).

In addition to the above agenda-setting theory describes how selection of topics and the frequencies of reporting by the mass media affected the perceived salience of those topics within the public audience. Therefore, within this approach, Agenda setting theory becomes the essential theoretical frame of the researcher to conduct this research.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Introduction

In this study, the researcher used primary and secondary data types as a main source of information. The secondary data types are gathered from books, journals (articles), internet resource and other printed materials. And these data's are used mostly in review of literature as a way of presenting the theoretical paradigm. The primary data types in other words are collected by the means of individual in depth interview.

The selected methodology for this study is qualitative and discussion will focus on the research design and methods of collecting data. In this chapter, the researcher used including data collection methods, analytical tools applied to them, sampling strategies and process and procedures of analysis are discussed to give an insight to the methodological development used in the study.

3.1. Qualitative Research

This study employed a qualitative research. Qualitative research method is one of the methods used to conduct this research. It has its own features that differentiate it from quantitative research. In qualitative research, the research is conducted in the natural setting of social actors and this helps to understand peoples' motivations, attitudes and behavior. Qualitative research was implemented for its advantages it is more appropriate for examining words and ideas rather than counting numbers. This method is used to understand and explain social phenomena in their natural setting (Stone et al. 1999:334).

Qualitative research methods focus on discovering and understanding the experiences, perspectives, and thoughts of participants that is qualitative research explores meaning, purpose, or reality. In qualitative research, decisions about design and strategy are ongoing and are grounded in the practice, process and context of the research itself. However, although qualitative researchers should not aim to produce entire advance blueprints, in my understanding, they very definitely should nevertheless produce a research design at the start of the process (Mason, 2002:24).

According to Ezzy (2002:81), qualitative research is a situated activity that locates the observer in the world. It consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible. Qualitative researchers study meaning. The quality of research into meanings and interpretive processes cannot be assured simply through following correct procedures. Interpretations and meanings are situated. A method applicable to one research situation will be inappropriate in another.

The main objective of this research was to examine the Ethiopian print media coverage and the value of these media coverage in creating consensus with regards to the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam building. Hence, qualitative research approach is preferred to achieve the goal of this study.

Yin (2011:8-9) forwards about five features of qualitative research which are summarized as follows: 1) Qualitative research involves studying the meaning of people's lives, under real world conditions; 2) It differs because of its ability to represent the views and perspectives of the participants in a study. Therefore, the events and ideas emerging from qualitative research can represent the meanings given to real-life events by the people who live them, not the values, preconceptions, or meanings held by researchers; 3) it covers contextual conditions, the social, institutional, and environmental conditions within which people's lives take place. These contextual conditions may strongly influence all human events; 4) Qualitative research is not just a diary or chronicle of everyday life. On the contrary, it is driven by a desire to explain these events, through existing or emerging concepts and 5) it strives to collect, integrate, and present data from a variety of sources of evidence as part of any given study.

Additionally, Bauer and Gaskell (2000:14) argue that qualitative research is intrinsically a more critical and potentially emancipator form of research. It aims to see through the eyes of those being studied. It is seen as necessary to understand the interpretations that social actors (people themselves) have of the world, because it is these interpretations that motivate the behavior that creates the social world itself. Therefore, the above mentioned qualities of this approach influenced the researcher to employ qualitative approach to the subject of the study.

3.2, Secondary source Data

Textual Analysis

Rayner et.al (2004:9) describes textual analysis as one of the cornerstones of media studies; and defines as a process by which we can both reveal the inner workings of a text and identify its significance in terms of the wider social issues.

Textual analysis is sometimes called careful reading, and it is as important to a journalist as good listening. Textual analysis is a method that communication researchers use to describe, interpret, and evaluate the characteristics of a recorded message (Kreps, et al. 1991 cited in Iorio, 2004: 163-165).

Textual analysis is an invaluable qualitative method for understanding and evaluating news, articles, editorial, interview and especial edition stories which is focused on the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD).

Stokes (2003:56) suggests that analyzing texts can allow you to investigate a wide range of assumptions about the nature of media and cultural artifacts. Studying media texts will enable to discuss an infinite number of themes and issues.

Media texts are part of our world: they are social phenomena and are often part of the debates about society going on in the world, and this makes them more topical and socially relevant, in turn giving a greater sense of relevance to our work. Studying texts can improve our understanding of cultural life of how things mean and meaning is one of the most important aspects of media use. Hence, the researcher used textual analysis to the study of both Addis Zemen and Amharic reporter newspapers which are in focus on media coverage and social consensus with regards to the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD).

3.3. Primary source data

In-depth-Interview

The in-depth- interview is one of the main methods through which we collect data for qualitative research. In-depth interviews can be used in various settings to collect information on a specific theme or topic.

Stokes (2003:96) stated that one of the criticisms of methods which focus on texts is that they ignore the contexts of production and consumption. As Stokes forwards, sometimes the relationship between the text and its producers is of interest. In such cases, it is important to combine textual analysis with other approaches. In this study therefore, the main purpose of using an in-depth-interview is to challenge the questions that remained unanswered by the textual analysis.

In this research the researcher used the semi-structured interviews. According to Miller and Brewer (2003:167), using semi-structured interview questions would help the interviewer “adapt the research instrument to the individuality of the research respondent” and would allow the respondent to provide answers by their own terms at a length and depth of their choice.

3.4. Sample size and time frame

Dattalo (2008:3-5) pointed out, a sample is a subset of the total population that results from a sampling strategy; ideally, a sample is selected as a representative of the total population. The Great Ethiopian Renaissance Dam building anniversary is an annual event which is held on 2 April. With concerning to the time frame, the researcher selected three months (February-April) media coverage of four year from 2015 to 2018. From this time of range the researcher collected a total of 12 month media coverage of both Amharic Reporter and Addis Zemen.

In addition to Newspapers media coverage the researcher make an in- depth interview. The interviewees are selected by purposive sampling methods. Hence the researcher had purposively selected the respondents he expected would give appropriate and effective

information for the study. Accordingly, the researcher chose 12 respondents from Amharic Reporter and Addis Zemene Newspapers, Media and communication experts, media and political science and international relation scholar's.

Those interviewees are selected from the two print media organization (Editor-in chef and managing Editor), Government officials (officials from Ethiopian Great Renaissance Dam Building National Public participation office, Government communication Affairs office), media and communication expert (both Ethiopian Great Renaissance Dam Building National Public participation office and Government communication Affairs office), media and political science and international relation scholar's (Addis Ababa University and Foreign affairs office), AAU).

The two newspapers were selected because they represent the newspapers that are currently working in Ethiopia. Addis Zemen represents government papers; the Amharic Reporter represents private newspapers.

According to Ethiopian Press Agency, Addis Zemen was established in 1941 by emperor Hailesilassie I. Since then it has been working as a mouth piece for the successive regimes. The paper focuses on social, political, economic and entertainment issues. Since its inception, Addis Zemen has served three regimes with loyalty. It also covers both national and international issues.

The information which is found from Communication Media Center (Reporter) shows that the Amharic Reporter is a privately owned news paper which was established in 1995. It has both English and Amharic versions. This study is interested in the Amharic version. Like Addis Zemen, the Amharic Reporter also focuses on political, economic, social and entertainment issues.

3.5. Sampling strategies

A sample is a segment of the population selected to represent the population as a whole. Ideally, the sample should be representative and allow the researcher to make accurate estimates of the thoughts and behavior of the larger population (Girma, 2014:31). The aim of sampling is to save time and effort.

Sampling strategies are divided in two main groups: probability and non-probability sampling. According to Girma (2014:32), probability sampling is used where the researcher has a significant measure of control over who is selected and on the selection methods for choosing them. Sampling methods allow for representative cross-sections, or particular groups to be identified or targeted. Non probability sampling is used when the researcher has little initial control over the choice of who is presented for selection, or where controlled selection of participants is not a critical factor.

Marshall (1996: 523) observes that ‘...an appropriate sample size for qualitative study is one that adequately answers the research question’. That sounds simple, but it is seldom so! Since we are not undertaking calculations to arrive at the optimum sample size as we would do for quantitative research, we can adjust our sample size as we go along, taking into account when: No new or relevant data seem to emerge regarding a category under study, The category is well developed in terms of its properties and dimensions demonstrating variation, and the relationships among categories are well established and validated new data

For the sample in qualitative research, Mason (2002:135) gives two suggestions: it should give an understanding of the research topic rather than represent a population, and the selection of the sample should be a dynamic and ongoing practice.

(Mason, 2002:121) defines two reasons for sampling in qualitative research: first, practicality and resources and second, the importance of focus. Further, according to (Mason, 2002:134) the researcher should think whether the chosen sample provides access to enough data and with the right focus so that it is possible to answer the research questions.

From the above reason non-probability sampling is employed in this study. From Non probability sampling strategy purposive sampling methods are applied because purposive sampling methods enables the researcher to use his judgments to choose people that are presented or are available that best meet his objectives or target groups(Girma, 2014:33).

The researcher had to employ purposive sampling based on content of the texts and In-depth Interview. Purposive sampling involves the use of the researcher's knowledge of the population in terms of research goals (Dattalo, 2005: 6). In this study, textual content is selected based on the time frame and the appropriate in-depth interviewee, that they will provide access to the desired information.

Therefore, according to the sampling strategies employed, on media coverage from February and March, all news, articles, Editorials, interviews and especial edition on Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD) in both newspapers are selected to be analyzed. Accordingly, from Amharic Reporter two day in a week, eight days in a month, 24 days in three months and 96 days publishing stories in four years which are focuses on the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD) are selected and from Addis Zemene news paper seven days in a week, 28 days in a month, 84 days in three months and 336 days publishing stories in four years which are focused on the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD) used in the analysis based on the dimensions of interpretations.

3.6) Story selection:

While the researcher used purposive sampling to select the newspapers, it chose to include all stories written during the mentioned period without sampling. In other words, all kinds of stories which are focused on GERD in the given time frame were taken for the study. So, the researcher use 331 all kinds of stories from both Amharic newspaper. The stories are categorized in to News, Articles, Editorials, Interviews and Especial Edition.

From 331 stories 145 stories are News, 115 stories are Articles, 34 stories are Editorials, and 41 stories are Especial Editions. From 331 all kinds of stories focused on Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD) 279 stories are covered by Addis Zemen and 54 stories are covered by Amharic Reporters.

3.7. Data coding and analytical categories

The subjects and data sources for this study were print texts available at Ethiopia press and Ethiopian Reporter news papers. The producers of these print texts, the Government

officials and the expert are also one of the data sources with whom in-depth interview was conducted.

Coding is the process of defining what the data are all about (Charmaz, 1995 as cited in Ezzy, 2002:86), Coding in thematic analysis is the process of identifying themes or concepts that are in the data. Accordingly, the researcher attempted to build an account of what has been observed and recorded.

Coding is the process of translating raw data into meaningful categories for the purpose of data analysis. Coding qualitative data may also involve identifying recurring themes and ideas.

According to Miles & Huberman (1994:56), Codes are tags or labels for assigning units of meaning to the descriptive or inferential information compiled during a study.

Berkowitz (1997) suggests considering six questions when coding qualitative data: What common themes emerge in responses about specific topics? How do these patterns (or lack thereof) help to illuminate the broader study question(s)? Are there deviations from these patterns? If so, are there any factors that might explain these deviations? How are participants' environments or past experiences related to their behavior and attitudes? What interesting stories emerge from the responses? How do they help illuminate the central study question(s)? Do any of these patterns suggest that additional data may be needed? Do any of the central study questions need to be revised? Are the patterns that emerge similar to the findings of other studies on the same topic? If not, what might explain these discrepancies?

Bogdan and Biklin (1998) provide common types of coding categories, but emphasize that the researcher central questions shape the research coding scheme.

- **Setting/Context** codes provide background information on the setting, topic, or subjects.
- **Defining the Situation** codes categorize the world view of respondents and how they see themselves in relation to a setting or your topic.

- **Respondent Perspective** codes capture how respondents define a particular aspect of a setting. These perspectives may be summed up in phrases they use, such as, "Say what you mean, but don't say it mean."
- **Respondents' Ways of Thinking about People and Objects** codes capture how they categorize and view each other, outsiders, and objects.
- **Process** codes categorize sequences of events and changes over times.
- **Activity** codes identify recurring informal and formal types of behavior.
- **Event codes**, in contrast, are directed at infrequent or unique happenings in the setting or lives of respondents.
- **Strategy** codes relate to ways people accomplish things, such as how instructors maintain students' attention during lectures.
- **Relationship and social structure** codes tell you about alliances, friendships, and adversaries as well as about more formally defined relations such as social roles.
- **Method** codes identify your research approaches, procedures, dilemmas, and breakthroughs.

Accordingly, the researcher has coded to categorize the data gathered through textual reading and in-depth interview to form or develop themes for the study. The codes used for categorization of data are based on research objectives and research questions. Therefore, data collected through reading texts portrayed and conducting an in-depth interview are categorized into the following categories to develop themes.

1. **Total Coverage of GERD**:-this refers to the number of coverage in those news papers.
2. **Types of stories**:-it was a category used to identify news from other programs and coded as (news, articles, editorials, interviews and especial edition stories).
3. **Page category**: This refers to the type of page that the relevant subject has appeared is (Front page, Editorial, Inside page)
4. **Focus of the story**: - it refers to topic on which the story constructed and this was coded as (story about diplomacy, people participation on GERD, Bond sailing, functions of GERD, uses of water and the Blue Nile, annual anniversary of the GERD, the building activities of the GERD).

5. **Presentation of stories:** - it is concerned with how Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD) portrayed in those print media and the coding used was (different stories of both newspapers and audio of journalist, officials and experts from an in-depth interview).
6. **The subject matter of the stories:** this was coded as the (objective of a story published, how it was structured, the meaning of the stories, and expression of an interviewee to generate meaning).
7. **The ideological values of the stories:** - it was coded as, what and whose ideological interests do in both print media tend to portray events of Grand Ethiopian renaissance Dam and it shows significance of the ideological value for the social consensus.

Table 1**Media coverage on Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam Building in Addis Zemene and Amharic reporter at the time interval of February 2015 –April 2018**

No	Year	News papers	News	Article	Edito- rials	Especial Edition	Total	Both total
1	February 2015	Addis Zemne	4	3	2	0	9	15
		Amharic Reporter	5	1	0	0	6	
2	March 2015	Addis Zemne	30	27	9	6	72	84
		Amharic Reporter	7	3	2	0	12	
3	April 2015	Addis Zemne	6	5	2	0	13	19
		Amharic Reporter	3	3	0	0	6	
4	February 2016	Addis Zemne	4	6	1	0	11	13
		Amharic Reporter	1	1	0	0	2	
5	March 2016	Addis Zemne	16	12	5	4	49	52
		Amharic Reporter	0	3	0	0	3	
6	April 2016	Addis Zemne	7	3	0	0	10	10
		Amharic Reporter	0	0	0	0	0	
7	February 2017	Addis Zemne	7	5	1	0	13	17
		Amharic Reporter	2	2	0	0	4	
8	March 2017	Addis Zemne	12	15	4	16	47	54
		Amharic Reporter	4	3	0	0	7	
9	April 2017	Addis Zemne	3	6	0	0	9	14
		Amharic Reporter	4	1	0	0	5	
10	February 2018	Addis Zemne	3	1	1	0	5	5
		Amharic Reporter	0	0	0	0	0	
11	March 2018	Addis Zemne	18	7	5	14	42	49
		Amharic Reporter	3	3	1	0	7	
12	April 2018	Addis Zemne	0	0	0	0	0	1
		Amharic Reporter	1	0	0	0	1	
Total			144	106	31	50	331	

Table 2: Interviewee

No.	Name of the interviewee	Title of the interviewee	organization	Interview Date	Code Given
1	Abere Adamu	Editor in-chief	Ethiopian Press Agency	May 8, 2018	EC2
2	Fekadu Molla	Editor in-chief	Ethiopian Press Agency	May 8, 2018	EC3
3	Fikirte Tamire	Deputy Director	Ethiopian Great Renaissance Dam Building National Public participation Office	May 07, 2018	DD
4	Getachew Dinku(PhD)	Media and Communication Scholars	AAU	May 12, 2018	MCS1
5	Melaku Demissie	Managing Editor	Reporter	May 7, 2018	ME
6	Samson Yohannes	Media and communication expert	Ethiopian Great Renaissance Dam Building National Public participation office	May 6, 2018	MCE1
7	Sisay Asmamaw	Media and Communication Expert	Government Communication Affairs Office	May 12, 2018	MCE3
8	Teshager Sheiferaw(PhD)	Media and Communication Scholars	AAU	May 15, 2018	MCS2
9	Yacob Arsano(PhD)	Political science and International Relation scholars	AAU	May 22, 2018	PSIRS2
10	Yacob Woldemariam	Media and Communication Expert	Government communication Affairs Office	May 12, 2018	MCE2
11	Zekarias Sintayehu	Editor in-chief	Reporter	May 7, 2018	EC1
12	Zerihun Abebe	Political Science and International Relation Scholars	Ethiopian Foreign Affairs Office	May 22, 2018	PSIRS1

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

The main purpose of this analysis of the two major Amharic newspapers, the Addis Zemen (government owned), the Reporter (privately owned), was to examine the Ethiopian print media coverage and the value of these media coverage in consensus with regards to the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD) building. How the two news papers gave coverage and the value of the media coverage towards creating consensus were analysed.

4.1. Qualitative content analysis

On media coverage from February to April, all news, articles, Editorials, and especial edition on Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD) in both news papers are selected to be analyzed. Accordingly, from Amharic reporter two day in a week, eight days in a month, 24 days in three months and 96 days publishing stories in four years which are focused on the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD) are selected.

From Addis Zemene news paper seven days in a week, 28 days in a month, and 84 days in three months and 336 days publishing stories in four years which are focused on the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD) used in the analysis based on the dimensions of interpretations

The researcher chose to include all stories written during the mentioned period without sampling. In other words, all kinds of stories which are focused on Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD) in the given time frame were taken for the study. So, the researcher use 331 all kinds of stories from both Amharic news papers. The stories are categorized in to News, Articles, Editorials and Especial Edition.

From 331 stories 144 stories are News, 105 stories are Articles, 31 stories are Editorials, and 50 stories are Especial Editions. From 331 all kinds of stories focused on Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD) 279 stories are covered by Addis Zemen and 52 stories are covered by Amharic Reporters Newspapers.

The data gathered through the content analysis was analyzed using in narrative description. Following is the presentation and analysis of data gathered through the content analysis method.

4.1.1. Total Coverage of GERD in Addis Zemen and Amharic Reporter

During the time frame 331 stories are reported in both newspapers. From those stories Addis zemene newspapers ran 279 stories dedicated to the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD), Amharic Reporter ran only 52 stories. This number demonstrates a marked difference in the two newspapers' coverage of GERD linked stories. As can be clearly seen from the given number, Addis Zemene provided far more stories of GERD related accounts when compared to Amharic Reporter News paper. This indicates the significance Addis Zemen dedicated to issues associated with GERD – far more than that of Amharic Reporter.

The closer attention that Addis Zemene paid towards GERD connected stories is interesting: in terms of agenda setting and consensus theory, a great deal of consideration given to specific content provides a more detailed understanding of the subject in the readers' heads and of the subsequent attitudes and opinions grounded. Moreover, McCombs (1972:56) states that: From the pattern of the total news coverage, the public learns what journalists consider the important issues are and who the prominent public figures of the day are.

From the details of this coverage – the agenda of attributes presented by the news media – the public forms its images and perspective about these issues and public figures. Therefore, taking into consideration the total coverage provided to stories specific to the GERD, Addis Zemene made more significant difference than Amharic Reporter as it undoubtedly highlighted the issue and helped it receive considerable attention in the selected time frame. Such coverage of a certain issues in large amounts in the media has obvious implications concerning public opinion formation regard ling the issue.

McCombs and Show (1991:26) clearly states that “The power of the news media to focus public attention on a few key public issues is an immense and well documented influence. Not only do people acquire factual information about public affairs from the news media,

readers and viewers also learn how much importance to attach to a topic on the basis of the emphasis placed on it in the news". Furthermore, McCombs argues that what we know about the world is largely based on what the media decides to tell us. More specifically, the result of this mediated view of the world is that the priorities of the media strongly influence the priorities of the public. Elements prominent on the media agenda become prominent in the public mind.

However, it should be noted that the large difference in total coverage among the two sample newspapers could have resulted due to the nature of the papers' publication, in other words the fact that Reporter happened to be published twice a week may have obliged the newspaper to condense its reports about GERD events that happened over the week in two days, whereas the daily Addis Zemen could have reported GERD events as they happened on a daily basis. Nevertheless, the difference in total coverage of the two newspapers is so significant that it indicates emphasis given to the issue by Addis Zemene newspaper.

4.1.2. Types of stories:-it was a category used to identify news from other programs and coded as (news, articles, editorials, and especial edition stories).

From the total media coverage in both Amharic reporter and Addis Zemen newspapers 144 stories are reported in news categories, 105 stories are in articles, 31 stories are in editorials and 50 stories are covered in especial edition categories. Those media coverage shows both news papers give more attention in news and the news papers give the second attention the GERD events in articles page. The third and the fourth level of intention in both newspapers are to cover the issue in editorial and especial edition page. With regards to special edition page the Amharic reporter hasn't contribution because the finding shows that there is no special edition story coverage in Amharic reporter in concerning with GERD. But Addis zemene news paper is better than the Amharic reporter because 50 stories out of 331 stories are covered in special edition page.

In anniversary day every 2 April the page of Addis zemen news papers is especial edition page, so all kinds of stories which is published in this day is published in this page categories. This experience of Addis zemene news paper is best experience and good model

for Ethiopian Print media. The researcher also believes that this kind of Addis Zemen news paper experience is best practice and importance for creating consensus among the society towards certain issue.

4.1.3. Page category: This refers to the type of page that the relevant subject has appeared in (Front page, Editorial, Inside page)

The total number of stories reported about issues on Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD), committed in both Addis Zemen and Amharic Reporter newspapers are classified in to three different page categories: front page, editorial and inside page. The classification of page categories into three different types of pages serves to indicate the significance and attention given by the newspapers to issues connected to the actor. Stories reported on the front page, for instance, highlight the emphasis placed on the issue in the news. Moreover, front page news stories are also believed to have a considerably higher effect in attracting readers' attention than those on inside pages.

According to McCombs and Show (1991:26), newspapers provide a host of cues about the salience of the topics in their news by making it a lead story on page one and through front page displays such as large headlines and so on, thereby setting the agenda for the public's attention and creating consensus to the issues around which public opinion takes form. In addition, the editorial section of the newspaper is of importance in signifying the stand of the newspaper about the issue at hand. Other stories on the inside pages are considered to have less significance where the issue is concerned in comparison with front page and editorial coverage.

Stories that appear on the front page highlight issues given emphasis in the news. Moreover, front page news stories are also believed to have a considerably higher effect in attracting audiences' attention than those on the inside page. The front page news stories also show more emphatic news of the total issues covered in that day's publication. The newspapers' front page features eye-catching headlines and photographs that pique readers' interest and direct them to stories featured in the inner sections.

The editorial section of the newspaper is important in signifying the stand of the newspaper about the issue at hand. It is also used to represent the views of newspaper's editors, teams, publishers, or owners and to illustrate those of their readers. It is a means of exploring what issues were important during the time of the newspaper's publication. Stories on the inside page are often regarded as having less significance when compared to those that appear on the front and editorial pages. Page editors of a newspaper usually place stories covering particularly important or interesting events on the front page, and usually relegate stories of interest to fewer people to paper's inner page.

According to Hodgson (1996:23), the actual front page of a newspaper confronts a potential buyer on the news-stands and attracts readers. Most of the time, they have headlines of different sizes and widths, most of them in a matching type, but with the odd one or two in different type to give variety.

The biggest headline on a page is usually at the top of the front page and it is mostly on the longest story of the day; it tells the readers that the story is the most important one worthy of reading.

The front page of a newspaper is also what attracts casual readers to buy it; and editors choose stories they feel people will want to read. Editors also use their judgment to select the most important stories on the basis of the perceived impact the story might have on the readers.

Table 3: Addis Zemen Newspaper media coverage on GERD

No.	Time	Front page	Editorial page	Inside page	Total
1	February 2015	1	2	6	9
2	March 2015	19	9	44	72
3	April 2015	2	2	9	13
4	February 2016	2	2	9	11
5	March 2016	10	5	34	49
6	April 2016	2	0	8	10
7	February 2017	2	1	10	13
8	March 2017	7	4	36	47
9	April 2017	0	0	9	9
10	February 2018	5	1	0	6
11	March 2018	12	4	22	38
12	April 2018	0	0	0	0
	Total	62	30	187	279

Table 4: Amharic reporter Newspaper media coverage on GERD

No.	Time	Front page	Editorial page	Inside page	Total
1	February 2015	0	0	6	6
2	March 2015	4	2	6	12
3	April 2015	0	0	6	6
4	February 2016	0	0	2	2
5	March 2016	0	0	3	3
6	April 2016	0	0	0	0
7	February 2017	1	0	3	4
8	March 2017	0	0	7	7
9	April 2017	0	0	5	5
10	February 2018	0	0	0	0
11	March 2018	0	0	6	6
12	April 2018	0	0	1	1
	Total	5	2	45	52

According to the data finding the number of stories that appeared in Amharic Reporter and Addis Zemen newspapers on the three different types of pages are varies.

Accordingly, as can be seen in the above two tables Addis Zemen newspaper, out of the total of 279 stories presented about GERD 62 stories presented in front page, 30 stories are presented in editorial page and 187 stories are presented in inside page.

As shown in the above table with regards to Amharic reporter five stories presented in front page, two stories expressed in editorial page and 45 stories presented in inside page.

As it is mentioned in the above, important stories are run on front pages. This illustrates the emphasis given to the issue by both newspapers.

In the editorial sections of both newspapers as illustrated in the table above, Addis Zemen ran 30 of 279 stories on the editorial page, while Reporter ran 2 out of 52 stories on the

same page. This demonstrates that Addis Zemen proportionally gave more editorial space to stories than Reporter. This clearly indicates that Addis Zemen gives more attention to expressing its organizational stand about Great Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD).

4.1.4. Focus of the story: - it refers to topic on which the story constructed and this was coded as (story about diplomacy, people participation on GERD, Bond sailing, functions of GERD, uses of water and the Blue Nile, annual anniversary of the GERD, the building activities of the GERD).

Table 5: Focus of the story

No.	News papers	Stories on Diplomacy	Stories on Public participation on GERD	Stories on Bond sailing	Stories on Uses of water and Blue Nile /Abaye/	Stories on Anniversary Of GERD	Stories on Building Activities of the GERD
1	Addis Zemen	69	67	23	69	24	21
2	Amharic Reporter	34	8	1	1	3	5

As presented here in the above on Tables both newspapers have highly given their focuses stories on diplomacy. 103 stories out of 331 stories are stories focuses on diplomacy issue. In those diplomatic stories both news papers highly covered by considering tripartite negotiation (among Egypt, Ethiopia and Sudan) and the media wrote about the right of Ethiopia in using and manipulation of the Blue Nile.

In addition to diplomacy stories, 75 stories are focused on Public participation on GERD, 24 stories are on Bond sailing, 70 stories are on Uses of water and Blue Nile/Abaye/, 27 stories are on Anniversary of GERD and 26 stories are on Building Activities of the GERD.

This implies that both news papers media coverage in different focus leads the societies to consensus with regards to GERD.

4.1.5. Presentation of stories: - it is concerned with how Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD) committed was portrayed in those print Media and the coding used was different stories of both news papers.

The finding shows that both newspapers committed to give media coverage in considering with Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam as an icon of development. Even if Addis zemen news papers government owned and Amharic Reporter privately owned media both understand GRED as one means of eradicating poverty. They try to cover events which are focused on GERD and sometimes they create an agenda of the GRED and published about it.

The stories of GRED are presented positively and these stories are important for creating consensus among the society towards Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam.

4.1.6. The subject matter of the stories: this was coded as the (objective of a story published, how it was structured, the meaning of the stories.

According to Mody (1990:29), consensus or individual change takes place without dialogue. That is the dialogue expected to take place within groups of people with homogeneous needs; between groups of people with different needs; and between the public and planners.

Messages are designed to support national transformation in behaviors and attitudes, then the desired sequence of audience outputs becomes longer and more.

To facilitate economic development of a given country, media have vital roles. Using media, people's attitudes and habits can be changed. With regards to Khalid, et al., (2014:57), the concept of development of a country is a matter of change when old practices and equipment are changed and new, better and more efficient means are used. Media play an

important role in communicating this change. By giving the necessary information, and sometimes skills, the media can help bring about this change.

Wirth (1948:2) is also explained that if consensus is increasingly at the mercy of the functioning of the media as it is in a democratic world, then the control over these instruments becomes one of the principal sources of political, economic and social power.

In considering with the above principle, the finding of this research shows that the objective of Ethiopian print media including Amharic Reporter and Addis zemen is in giving media coverage on GERD is to play their important role in facilitating the countries national development. Both media see the project as development agent of Ethiopia, the stories are developed positively. All the news, editorials, articles and especial edition stories are well structured and easily understand for the reader. Interims of depth the stories are not that much enough because each news papers journalists working experience, and knowledge are not that much enough.

4.1.7. The ideological values of the stories: - it was coded as, what and whose ideological interests do in both print media tend to portray events of Grand Ethiopian renaissance Dam.

An ideology is basically a system of meaning that helps define and explain the world and that makes values judgments about the world. Ideology, then, is not just about politics. It has a boarder and more fundamental connotation (Croteau, 2012:153).

According to Encarta English Dictionary, Ideology Is a system of social beliefs closely organized system, values, and ideas forming the basis of a social, economic or political philosophy or program or meaningful belief systems that shapes the way a person or a group such as social class thinks acts and understands the world.

In addition to this O'Shaughnessy (1999:159) explained that, "Ideology is a set of social values, ideas, beliefs, feelings, representations and institutions by which people collectively make sense of the world they live in".

According to FDRE Government Communication Affairs Office document, the Ethiopian Government ideology explained that " Ethiopia is a country with a bold vision-to be a leader in Africa and the world; an economic powerhouse; to transform the lives of its almost 100 million citizens. It is a vision of renaissance that is rebirth: to make great again. Dedicated to this vision, the government has set ambitious goals: to reach lower middle-income status by 2025 and become a high-income country within two generations by transforming in to an industrial economy and creating millions of jobs."

When we come to Blue Nile (Abbay), the traditional Ethiopian perception of the Blue Nile (Abbay), the main tributary of the Nile, is unique and encompasses much more than just the physical body of water. It's spiritual. Holds reverence, and a sense of prestige and identity.

The value and benefits of the Grand Renaissance Dam can bring to the Ethiopian people or nation would be so great. It will move the country forward and does not give way to see backward. It will improve the lives and livelihoods of the people. Therefore the Grand Renaissance Dam is the nation's pride and destiny. This is also an ideology of the peoples and the governments of Ethiopia towards Blue Nile (Abbay).

The Ethiopian print media including Addis Zemne and Amharic Reporter do their media coverage in the bases of peoples and governments ideology on Blue Nile (Abbay).

When we investigate the media coverage of both news papers in GERD, the stories are focused on, the project is build for mutual benefit and it help for Ethiopia to apply its water using right. The story structured by considering GRED as Ethiopian national Security issue.

4.2. Qualitative in-depth interview analysis

Discussion of Findings

The researcher conducted 12 informants for this research to be analyzed. The interviewees selected by purposive sampling technique because the researcher believes that the selected informants are well experienced and appropriate informant to give the important information regards with the issue. The informants are selected from media and

communication scholars in Addis Ababa University, experts in Government Communication Affairs Office and Great Ethiopian Renaissance Dam building national public participation office, Political science and international relation scholars in Addis Ababa University and Ethiopian Foreign Affairs office, Journalists and media organization leader in both Addis Zemene and Amharic reporter newspapers and Government officials in Government Communication Affairs Office and Great Ethiopian Renaissance Dam building national public participation office.

The researcher selected six themes to be categorized and analyzed the informants' attitude and expression towards the issue. The themes are Consensus on Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD), Media coverage of Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam in Amharic reporter and Addis Zemene (GERD), Depth of stories published in both news papers, the roles of both news papers in reacting Egyptian media and face book, Challenges of Amharic reporter and Addis Zemen on the coverage of Great Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD) buildings, and Collaboration of both news papers and other sectors which have direct relation in Great Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD) buildings.

Based on the six themes mentioned in the above the researcher tries to analyze the interviewee attitude, feeling and expression as follows.

4.2.1. Consensus on Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD).

Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD) is currently under construction on the Blue Nile (Abbay) River in the Benishangul-Gumuz Regional State Metekel zone Guba wereda (district) some 750km far away from the capital, Addis Ababa. The site of the dam is located near the Sudanese (North) border at about 20-40km away from it.

Blue Nile (Abbay) may also serve as a potential to bridge the national consensus among different Ethiopian citizens; and one can take the timely heated movement of citizens to take part in the construction of the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam project whether by buying bonds, by giving their labor or technical skill, etc.

Almost all informants say consensus is creating among the society regards with Great Ethiopian Renaissance Dam.

Samson Yohannes(MCE1), media and Communication Expert; who is working in Ethiopian Great Renaissance Dam Building National Public participation office says:

"In my view there is consensus among the society with regards to Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD). The people of Ethiopia show their support in different way beginning from the foundation of the corner stone of the dam. There is no obstacle among the people in supporting the (GERD). Including bond buying the society expressed their supporting feeling in kin and in giving moral. In Ethiopian Grand Renaissance Dam Building National Public secretariat the members are the combination of all kinds of groups like political parties, religious group etc. in the above reason consensus in Great Ethiopian Renaissance among the society is created"
(Interviewe May 6, 2018).

Fikirte Tamire (DD); Ethiopian Great Renaissance Dam Building National Public participation office Deputy Director consider that consensus has seen in the project. She says:

"Consensus is created in building of Great Ethiopian Renaissance. When we talk about consensus the source of consensus is different. The idea of building the dam have been in peoples mind before the establishing of the corner stone of the dam that is why the supporting of the people have seen immediately. The People of Ethiopia who live in the country or abroad express their felling positively. In the previous seven years the people support the project in different ways. For me this is an indication of consensuses

(Interviewed, May 7, 2018)".

Melaku Demissie(ME); reporter news papers, managing Editor says:

"The public expressed their feeling in different way what I am surprising is the activities of the people in bond buying. The parents buying the bond with their Children's this show the people of Ethiopia deeply believe that building Great Ethiopian Renaissance Dam is essential for the next better life. The society acted as owners of the dam. For me this is an indication of creation of consensus among the society with regards to GERD "(Interviewed, May 6, 2018" .

In addition to the above Dr. Getachew Dinku(MCS1), who is media and communication scholars at Addis Ababa University says:

"We are in a true track to make consensus in GERD among the society but I am believe that it is not enough, further activities will be done to create consensus among the society regards with the great Renaissance Dam building. Media will have great role to do this activities (Interviewed, May 12, 2018" .

Zerihun Abebe (PSIRS1), Political science and International Relation scholars and Trans Boundary Resource Affaires Directorate at Ethiopian Foreign Affairs Office also says:

"Great Ethiopian Renaissance Dam is the symbol of unity. It joins the people Of Ethiopia each other. For me Renaissance Shows rebirth. As Ethiopian's we do a lot of activity together. According to Ethiopian government stand poverty is an enemy of the country, to eradicate poverty from the people of Ethiopia Great Ethiopian Renaissance Dam is important. From this natural setting I can

Say that consensus in GERD among the society is created (Interviewed, May 21, 2018)".

From the above informants saying and the fact which have seen in the media coverage content, the researcher conclude that consensus is created among the society with regards to the building of Great Renaissance Dam building but further activities will be done to create better consensus in GERD.

4.2.2. Media coverage of Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam in Amharic reporter and Addis Zemene (GERD).

Media coverage is very important in creating consensus because Exposure to the media changes people's behavior or beliefs. The more we watch, read or listen to outputs of the media, the greater the effect on our behavior. However, if by media effects, we mean that the media do not generate specific changes but rather reinforce the status quo, then empirical demonstration of media effects becomes near impossible. According to this principle W. Philips et al. (1976:183) explained that the effect of the mass media on level of information, attitudes, and attention may influence us in what we do.

In the selected time frame for this research 331 stories of Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam were published in both news papers. From this number and the researcher's point of view the coverage of GERD has its own impact in creating consensus among the society.

Dr. Yacob Arsano (PSIRS2), Political science and International Relation scholars at Addis Ababa University with regards to Amharic Reporter and Addis Zemene News papers media coverage on GERD; he explained that:

"I have not conduct the research about Ethiopian print media 'how functioned their role in creating consensus about GERD. But in my observation the print media especially Addis Zemene and Amharic reporter play their role in creating consensus towards GRED but their coverage is not enough" (Interviewed,

May 18, 2018).

Zerihun Abebe (PSIRS1), Political science and International Relation scholars and Trans Boundary Resource Affaires Directorate in Ethiopian Foreign Affairs Office says:

"Ethiopian print media doesn't play their maximum effort to give media coverage in GERD when we compare Egyptian and Sudan's print media. There is no uniformity between Ethiopian Print media. Some news papers wrote articles which is focused in Egyptian Benefits rather than focusing Ethiopian national benefit. When we come to Addis zemen and Amharic newspapers media coverage they focused about Ethiopian benefit but in my observation both newspapers journalist believing that balancing the report rather than focusing Ethiopian national interest" (Interviewed, May 21, 2018).

Yacob Woldemariam (MCE2), Media and communication expert in Government communication Affairs Office also says:

"As our media monitoring shows the Ethiopian print media including Addis Zemen and Amharic reporter give coverage for GERD but this coverage is not practiced continuously. It is event based, so those print media must do more to create consensus in GERD" (interviewed May 12, 2018).

In addition to the above Dr. Teshager Shiferaw (MCS1), who is media and communication a scholar at Addis Ababa University says:

"Media have social responsibility to give media coverage for countries national development Projects. Countries national development project have great news Values. As to me Great Ethiopian Renaissance Dam is huge project which Consensus has been created. Both Amharic Reporter and Addis Zemene newspapers

give media coverage to GERD and this coverage leads the people of Ethiopia unite, have strong power in tripartite negotiation on Nile, help to cooperate each other to build the GERD" (interviewed, May 15, 2018).

From the informants saying, the researcher's observation and the findings; the researcher concluded that both Amharic Reporter and Addis zemen newspapers give coverage to GERD but the media coverage is not enough so, those print media give more coverage continuously in order to create more consensus among the society towards GERD.

4.2.3. Depth of stories published in both news papers.

Depth stories in print media are essential to give more information to the readers. According to the content analysis finding, out of 331 GERD media coverage stories 264 stories are in editorial and inside page categories.

According to Mody (1990:101) all media messages are products of particular national economic, political, cultural and geographical forces. As the politics and economic situations of societies change their media uses and their effects on each other change.

From this point of view media message of Great Ethiopian Renaissance Dam has important value for all Ethiopians. The societies see the media message purposefully because the societies want to see the competition of this great project.

Sisay Asmamaw (MCE3), Media and Communication Expert in Government communication Affairs office says:

"Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam stories published in both newspapers are not that much depth. They are event based, the necessary research doesn't conduct. According to our monitoring result Amharic reporter tries to write depth stories. So, in my observation Amharic Reporter is better than Addis Zemen News papers in publishing depth stories" (interviewed May 12, 2018).

Abere Adamu(EC2), Editor in-chief in Zemen bulletin at Ethiopian press Agency says:

"The Ethiopian print media including Addis Zemen and Amharic reporter didn't their work in that much in terms of writing depth stories. Their stories are based on events. They didn't their work continuously the stories are not that much educated the reader. There will be political and Economic analysis. According to my observation Amharic reporter is better than Addis Zemen news papers" (interviewed May 8, 2018).

Zekarias Sintayehu (EC1) is Editor in-chief in Reporter newspapers he added that:

"Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam building project is the main concerned Issue of our media. So, We do our media work to give brief information to the readers or societies. We write depth stories of GERD by ours and the participants. The experts and the scholars are the main source of our won work. By considering our media reality I believe that Amharic Reporter give its focus on depth stories". (Interviewed May 7, 20

Including the above informants and other informants which are interviewee by the researcher both Addis Zemen and Amharic reporter tries to publish depth stories but Amharic Reporter is better than Addis zemen newspapers. In general because of journalist's lack of experience and knowledge the stories of both newspapers are not that much depth.

4.2.4. The roles of both news papers in reacting Egyptian media and face book.

As a mass medium, newspapers influence people in many significant ways. Capability to be used for future reference make newspapers favorite medium of the people. Diversity of content is another feature of this medium. It can carry a rich mix of news, features, articles, columns, cartoons, graphics, editorial, etc.

Balanced and accurate media product is essential to give accurate information for the given societies.

In the modern world, media have some more roles to play. They inform, entertain, educate, set social agenda, shape our political system, form public opinion, support public demands, reveal social realities, transmit culture, create new trends and prosper cultural values

(Clifford Christians et al. n.d:34)

According to the informants saying the Egyptian media and face book published and distributed negative information which has negative impact for Great Ethiopian Renaissance Dam building, this negative impact also have direct relation in consensus of the project negatively. So, the immediate reactions with depth stories are expected from Ethiopian print media.

Zerihun Abebe (PSIRS1), Political science and International relation scholars and Trans Boundary Resources Affairs Director in Foreign Affairs Office says:

"Egyptian print media are highly organized, specialized journalists are published Stories Which has negative impact on Great Renaissance Dam building. Negative Information also disseminated in face book. Ethiopian print media have great role for reacting this negative information but they didn't use their role in the necessary Stage. For me Issues on Nile is not seen separately from Ethiopian History. Complete the GERD is not simple Issue it is the country's national security Issue. So the Ethiopian print media including Addis

Zemen and Amharic Reporter do their work in terms of this concern” interviewed May 22, 2018.

In addition to the above, Yacob Woldemariam (MCE2) Media and Communication Expert in Government communication Affairs office says:

"According to our media monitoring data the Egyptian media have three categories.

Especially the public media highly organized. It is organized by water Specialized

journalists. The media continuously give media coverage on Grand Ethiopian

Renaissance Dam. The public media of Egypt monitor Ethiopian media coverage on

GERD, and do public opinion survey, by summing up this the media published depth

Stories on GRED which has negative impact on creating consensus. When we

Investigate Ethiopian print media including Amharic Reporter and Addis zemen they

are not highly organized, they haven't water specialized journalist in contrary they

have generalized journalist, they didn't give media coverage continuously, they are

event based, they didn't well monitoring in Egyptian media coverage on GERD, and

they didn't public opinion survey continuously because of this reason I believe that

the reaction of Ethiopian print media including Amharic Reporter and Addis zeme

are highly in poor stage towards Egyptian media and face book negative media

coverage on GERD” interviewed May 12, 2018.

From the above Two informants of this research, other informants, and the researcher's observation and the content analysis finding the reaction of both Amharic Reporter and Addis zemene newspapers towards Egyptian media and face book negative impact reporting is very less.

4.2.5. Challenges of Amharic reporter and Addis Zemen on the coverage of Great Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD) buildings.

Challenges have negative impacts on media coverage and in creating consensus among the societies towards Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam building. According to the informants saying and the researcher's observation the following are the main challenges of Amharic reporter and Addis Zemen on the coverage of Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD) buildings:

- Lack of water specialized journalists and other filed specialized journalists.
- Lack of access to information.
- The media coverage is event based.
- Research is not conducted towards the issue.
- Lack of opinion survey.
- Lack of media monitoring.
- Lack of logistics.
- Less circulation.

4.2.6. Collaboration of both news papers and other sectors which have direct relation in Great Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD) buildings.

The Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD), formerly known as the Millennium Dam and sometimes referred to as Hidase Gedib, can bring to the Ethiopian people or nation would be so great. It will move the country forward and does not give way to see backward. It will improve the lives and livelihoods of the people.

As the GERD the national project and the symbol of unity, the news papers and the organization which has direct relation to the project must do together. With this regards Fikirte Tamire, Deputy Director in Ethiopian Great Renaissance Dam Building National Public Participation Office says:

"This is the huge project for the country. To fruit full this project we and those media Must do together. Us our office, we try to do the projects activity with the media and other sectors. But this is not enough we haven't constant meeting and agenda exchange time because of this and other reasons the Ethiopian Print media, Addis Zemene and Amharic Reporter didn't their work continuously by setting an agenda"
(Interviewed, May 7, 2018).

Fekadu Molla (EC3) Editor in-chief in Addis Zemen newspapers also says:

"The coordination between our media and other sectors including Ethiopian Great Renaissance Dam Building National Public participation office is not that much good. Their no permanent meeting and agenda exchange mechanisms because of this reason the published stories in our newspapers is not that much depth"
(Interviewed, May 8, 2018).

From the two informants' expression, other informants' opinion and the researcher's observation the teamwork of the print media, Ethiopian Great Renaissance Dam Building National Public participation office and other sectors which has direct relation to Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam is less and it needs improvement.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This section attempts to summarize the main findings of the research. It provides the conclusion and possible recommendations forwarded for the study.

5.1. Conclusion

This research attempted to examine what actual coverage of Amharic Reporter and Addis Zemen and the value of these media coverage in creating consensus with regards to the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD) building.

The study has employed qualitative methods. Accordingly, a four year of three month totally 12 month of media coverage was assessing to measure the roles media in creating consensus towards GERD. In-depth interviews were also conducted with 12 informants selected from media and communication, political science and International relations scholars, Addis Zemen and Amharic reporter media organizations journalists, Government officials', media and communication experts.

The finding of this research indicated that the spirit of the current Ethiopian print media including Addis Zemen and Amharic Reporter about Great Ethiopian renaissance Dam (GERD) in Creating consensus among the society is generally optimistic. Although there were some differences in the extent of the coverage of Great Ethiopian renaissance Dam (GERD).

Both the government and the private owned newspapers targeted for the study gave significant coverage of Great Ethiopian renaissance Dam (GERD) the finding of the study revealed that *Addis Zemen* has provided an exceedingly considerable amount of coverage to the GERD project than Amharic reporter and Amharic reporter give their concern in depth stories.

With reference to the media coverage and the informant perception and understanding the finding reveals that they are well aware of the roles and believe that both print media should play in creating consensus among the society towards the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD) building.

However, when it comes to the actual practice of these roles, the finding shows that both print media the Amharic Reporter (privately owned) and Addis Zemen (Government owned) media has less contribution by giving continuity media coverage and in creating consensus due to internal and external factors.

In relation to the major challenges the findings of the study showed that the Amharic reporter and Addis Zemene are facing when playing their roles in creating consensus towards Great Ethiopian Renaissance Dam. The finding revealed that there are both internal and external challenges. The internal ones are lack of specialized journalist, lack of continuous agenda, and lack of capacity building of journalist. While, the external challenges are lack of access to information, lack of coordination among the sectors.

5.2. Recommendations

Based on the findings of the study, the following recommendations are forwarded:

- The contents to be delivered in both Amharic reporter and Addis Zemene should be relevant, balanced and interest arousing in covering Great Ethiopian Renaissance Dam building stories and continuously published and not event based.
- Both Amharic reporter and Addis Zemene, should also cover drawbacks or problems of Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam building issues. Because GERD project a huge and country's iconic project and it needs critical elucidation which might for its success.
- Further research and assessment is recommended to explain the newsworthiness and the quality of the coverage of GERD issues in the newspapers.
- It is evidently true that the both print media are not properly carrying out their creating social consensus roles, so in order to play their vital roles in a better way further practice will be done by concerned body.
- The findings also suggest that including the print media all the concerned body must do together to succeed the country's huge and iconic project.
- The finding revealed that both print media must fill their huge gap in agenda setting and in the immediate reaction of Egyptian media and face book concerning with GERD building.

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APPENDIX I

List of key informants

1. Abere Adamu: Editor in- chief of the Zemen Bulletin. May 8, 2018
2. Fekadu Molla: Editor in- chief of the Addis Zemen . May 8, 2018
3. Fikirte Tamire: Deputy Director in Ethiopian Great Renaissance Dam Building National Public participation office. May 07, 2018
4. Getachew Dinku(PhD): Media and communication scholars in Addis Ababa University(AAU)). May 12, 2018
5. Melaku Demissie: Managing Editor of the Reporter. May 7, 2018
6. Samson Yohannes: Media and communication expert in Ethiopian Great Renaissance Dam Building National Public participation office. May 6, 2018.
7. Sisay Asmamaw: Media and communication expert in Government communication Affairs office. May 12, 2018
8. Teshager Sheiferaw(PhD) Media and communication scholars in Addis Ababa University(AAU). May 15, 2018
9. Yacob Arsano(PhD): Political science and International Relation scholars in Addis Ababa University(AAU). May 22, 2018
10. Yacob Woldemariam: Media and communication expert in Government communication Affairs office. May 12, 2018
11. Zekarias Sintayehu: Editor in-chief of the Reporter. May 7, 2018
12. Zerihun Abebe: Political science and International Relation scholars and Trans Boundary Resources Affairs Director in Foreign Affairs Office May 22, 2018

APPENDIX II

In-depth interview questions for key informants

Amharic Version

በቁልፍ አስተያየቶች (Key informants) የቀረቡ ጥያቄዎች

1. የታላቁ የኢትዮጵያ ህዳሴ ግድምን አስመልክቶ በሕብረተሰቡ ሳይ መግባባት ተፍጥሯል የሚል እምነት አለዎት? መግባባቱ ካለህ ሕብረተሰቡ መግባባቱን በምን መልኩ ይገልጻለህ?
2. ታላቁ የኢትዮጵያ ህዳሴ ግድብን አስመልክቶ በሕብረተሰቡ መካከል መግባባት እንዲፈጠር ከማድረግ አኳያ የአዲስ ዘመን እና የፊፕሮተር ጋዜጦች አስተዋጽኦ እንዴት ይገለጻል?
3. ታላቁ የኢትዮጵያ የህዳሴ ግድብን አስመልክቶ የሚወጡ ዘገባዎች ምን ያህል እውቀትን መሰረት አድርገው በጥሰታ ይዘጋጃሉ?
4. የታላቁ የህዳሴ ግድብን አስመልክቶ በመገናኛ ብዙሃን እና በሚመሰክታቸው ባለድርሻ አካላት ያሰው ቀንጅታዊ ስራ እንዴት ይገመገማል?
5. የአዲስ ዘመንና የፊፕሮተር ጋዜጦች በታላቁ የኢትዮጵያ የህዳሴ ግድብ ሳይ የተመዘገቡ የዲገቡማሲ ስኬቶችን ከመዘገብ አንዳር እንዴት ይገመገማሉ?
6. በግብፅ መገናኛ ብዙሃንና በማህበራዊ መገናኛ ብዙሃን ታላቁ የህዳሴ ግድብን አስመልክቶ የሚወጡ አስታዊ ዘገባዎችን በአግባቡ ከመመከት አንዳር የአዲስ ዘመንና የፊፕሮተር ጋዜጦች ሚና በምን ደረጃ ሳይ ይገኛል?
7. በታላቁ የኢትዮጵያ የህዳሴ ግድብ ግንባታ የሚዲያ ሽፍን ወቅት በአዲስ ዘመንና በፊፕሮተር ጋዜጦች ሳይ የሚታዩ ተግዳሮቶች ምን ምን ናቸው?

English Version

APPENDIX III

1. Do you believe consensus in Great Ethiopian Renaissance Dam among the society is Created? In what way the society expressed their consensus?
2. What are the contributions of Addis Zemene and Amharic reporter in creating consensus in the society towards GERD?
3. In what extent Addis Zemene and Amharic reporter newspapers give coverage of GERD in terms of depth and knowledge?
4. How to evaluate the relation between both print media and the respected organization towards Great Ethiopian Renaissance Dam building?
5. How to evaluate Ethiopian diplomatic success on Great Ethiopian Renaissance Dam building media coverage on Addis Zemene and Amharic reporter newspapers?
6. In what stage the Addis Zemen and the Amharic reporter newspapers reached in the reaction of negative Egyptian and Face book media coverage on Great Ethiopian Renaissance Dam.
7. What are the main challenges of Addis Zemene and Amharic reporter during GERD media coverage?

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Declaration

I, the undersigned, declare that this thesis is my original work and all sources of materials used for this study have been appropriately acknowledged.

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Place of submission: Addis Ababa University, Ethiopia